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T H E
ANCIENT and MODERN
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
B R E T H R E N
O R,
A SUCCINCT NARRATIVE
O F T H E
PROTESTANT CHURCH
O F T H E
UNITED BRETHREN,
O R,
UNITAS FRATRUM,

In the remoter Ages, and particularly in the present Century :

WRITTEN IN GERMAN

By D A V I D C R A N Z,
Author of the HISTORY of GREENLAND;

Now translated into ENGLISH, with Emendations;
and published, with some additional Notes,

By B E N J A M I N L A T R O B E.

I have considered the days of old, the years of ancient times.
Pf. lxxvii. 5.

L O N D O N :

Printed by W. and A. STRAHAN;

And sold by J. ROBSON, in Bond-Street; T. CADELL, in the
Strand; C. DILLY, in the Poultry; and at the Settlements
and Chapels of the Congregations of the Brethren.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

IT is with pleasure that I can, by the assistance of some kind hands who translated this book, lay before the Public the History of the Church, known by the name of *Unitas Fratrum*, or, *The United Brethren*. It has been much asked for by some in this country, who are desirous of an account which may be depended upon, of a people which has passed through good and much evil report.

The integrity of the Author may be relied on. He had the most authentic materials for his work; and his impartiality is as well known to those who were acquainted with him, as his integrity and ability. He has evidently avoided painting in strong colours the beauties of the church to which he belonged, rather disposed to show the mistakes and defects of its members in many instances, than to give a flattering picture of them.

Cranz wrote his history as a master of the subject upon, and the language in, which he wrote. The translators see plainly that the stile and diction of the work here presented to the reader fall far short of the original: but this is the case with almost all translations. We, therefore, hope that the candid reader will make a charitable allowance in this respect: and, if he should meet with a Germanism, &c.

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he will think it is a translation. Indeed, the different constitutions and customs of the countries mentioned in this work, and consequently the different offices, modes of expression in divinity, in the law, &c. make it very difficult to translate such an history as this, so as to render the diction always pleasing. This book has passed through two editions in Germany, and answered the proposed end, by showing the origin and progress of the church of the Brethren, and the true state of their case. The Author, who departed this life in the year 1777, was so kind as to undertake some emendations, from papers and observations put into his hands, for the use of this translation. But it pleased God to take him to himself, before he had completed it. However, it has been, in several places, corrected and amended, agreeably to his intention, and to authentic documents.

As the Author wrote in Germany, he could naturally suppose the religious and civil constitution of that country to be well known there. But as this cannot be expected to be the case of every English reader, a few notes have been added by way of illustration.

The Author has, at the end of every section, quoted the books and manuscripts from whence he took his materials. As scarcely any of these books have been published in English, and as they are in very few hands, it was thought unnecessary to follow him in this respect; since it would not be of any real service to the reader. We have, however, given a list of such books and manuscripts after this Preface:
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and, as the titles are, mostly, in Latin, or in German, we have added a translation of them.

Of the *Ancient Brethren*, John Amos Comenius has given a brief historical Account in a treatise prefixed to his *Exhortation of the Churches of Bohemia to the Church of England*, &c. written in Latin, and dedicated to king Charles II*.

This and other historians of the church of the Brethren have been known and read by the learned in Great Britain and Ireland; and the established churches of these kingdoms have shown warm affection and esteem for that ancient Protestant episcopal church, ever since the time of the Reformation.

Even at the beginning of this century, the existence and “the deplorable condition of this “Protestant episcopal church in Poland†,” were so well known in England, that an *Order of the privy council* was issued on the 10th of March 1715, “for their relief, and for preserving the “remainder of the said episcopal churches in

* The original of this book has been reprinted in London, in 12mo, by J. Downing, in 1710. The title is: *De Bono Unitatis et Ordinis, Disciplinæque ac Obedientiæ, in Ecclesia recte constituta, vel constituenda, Ecclesiæ Bohemicæ ad Anglicanam Parænesis. Scripta a Jo. Amos Comenio, Ecclesiæ Fratrum Bohemorum Episcopo; ob Utilitatem suam turbulentis his Temporibus recusa.*

A translation of it was printed in London in 4to by Thomas Parkhurst, in 1661, bearing this title: *An Exhortation of the Churches of Bohemia to the Church of England; wherein is set forth the Good of Unity, Order, Discipline, and Obedience, in Churches rightly now, or to be, constituted. With a Description premised of the Order and Discipline used in the Churches of the Brethren of Bohemia, &c. By J. Amos Comenius. To which is still added his Dedicatory Address to the Church of England. With a recommendatory preface of Joshua Tymarchus.*

† See *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia. Report, &c.* p. 21, &c.

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“ Great Poland and Polish Prussia.” This order of the council was granted, “ upon the humble petition of the bishops and clergy of the reformed episcopal churches, first settled in Bohemia, and, since, forced, by the persecutions of their enemies, to retire into the Greater Poland and Polish Prussia;” and obtained for them “ upon a representation made to his Majesty by Dr. *William Wake*, archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. *John Robinson*, bishop of London.”

Archbishop *Wake* did not act herein merely as a humane Christian, without enquiry. He wrote to Dr. *Daniel Ernest Jablonsky*, dean of the chapel of the king of Prussia, and eldest bishop of the Unity at that period, desiring an account of the churches of the Brethren : to which Dr. *Jablonsky* gave him a full and satisfactory answer, proving their episcopal succession, and showing the former flourishing, and the present distressed, state of their churches. This deduction was printed by Dr. *Pfaffius*, chancellor of the university of Tuebingen, in his book, *De Successione Episcopali* *.

As to that part of the *present Church of the Brethren*, known by the name of *Unitas Fratrum*, or, *The United Brethren of the Augustan Confession*, the account of which forms the greatest part of this history ; this has also not been unknown to the divines in England, at, and since, its revival in *Herrnbut*.

The late archbishop of Canterbury, *John Potter*, said, “ That no Englishman, who had any notion

* See *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia. Report, &c.* page 6.

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“ of ecclesiastical history, could doubt of their (episcopal) succession *.”

The Committee of the Associates of the late Dr. Bray, for propagating Christianity among the Negroes, delivered the following report at a meeting held on the 2d of March 1736-7†.

“ Read, A report from the committee appointed
“ to wait upon his grace the archbishop of Canterbury, then elect, to desire his grace’s opinion concerning the church of the Moravian Brethren, till
“ now at Herrnhut; and to know whether any thing
“ in their doctrines was so far repugnant to those of
“ the church of England, as to make it improper for to employ some of the Brethren in instructing the negroes in christianity? Which
“ opinion was:

“ That he had long been acquainted, by books,
“ with the Moravian Brethren; and that they were
“ apostolical and episcopal, not sustaining any doctrines
“ repugnant to the thirty-nine articles of the church
“ of England: and that he was confirmed in these
“ sentiments of them by the conferences he had
“ lately had with the count of Zinzendorf, one of
“ their Brethren, and director of the churches of the
“ Moravians.”

Archbishop *Potter*’s congratulatory letter to count Zinzendorf, upon his having been consecrated a bishop, is a proof of the church of the Brethren not being unknown. I will here insert it at large, as

* See *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia. Report, &c.* page 7.

† *Ibid. Report, &c.* p. 7. 2nd Appendix, p. 11.

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I find it in the *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia*, printed in 1749*.

“ Viro admodum Reverendo,

“ Domino NICOLAO LUDOVICO, Moravienſi Epifcopo,

“ JOANNES CANTUARIENSIS, S. P. D.

“ Sanctam illam, vereque illuſtrem (quibuſcunque
“ forte tenebris jam ſit involuta) Moravienſem
“ Cathedram, ad quam, favente Divino Numine,
“ plaudente cœleſti choro (id enim dubitare nos
“ haud finit, quam de te concepimus, opinio) nu-

* See the *Report of the Committee*, &c. pages 8 and 9.

*A literal Tranſlation of his Grace the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's
Congratulation.*

John, by Divine Providence, Archbiſhop of Canterbury,

To the Right Reverend

Count Nicholas Lewis, Biſhop of the Moravian Church,
ſendeth greeting.

Moſt ſincerely and cordially I congratulate you, upon your having been lately raiſed to the ſacred and juſtly celebrated epifcopal chair of the Moravian church, (by whatever clouds it may be now obſcured) by the grace of Divine Providence, with the applauſe of the heavenly hoſt: for the opinion we have conceived of you, does not ſuffer us to doubt it. It is the ſubject of my ardent prayer, that this honour, ſo conferred, and which your merit ſo juſtly entitles you to, may prove no leſs beneficial to the church, than at all times acceptable to yourſelf and your's. For, inſufficient as I am, I ſhould be entirely unworthy of that high ſtation in which Divine Providence has placed me, were I not to ſhow myſelf ever ready to uſe every exertion in my power, for the aſſiſtance of the univerſal church of God: but to love and embrace, even preferably to others, your church, united with us in the cloſeſt bond of love; having hitherto, as we have been informed, invariably maintained both the pure and primitive faith, and the diſcipline of the firſt church; being neither intimidated by dangers, nor ſeduced by the manifold temptations of Satan. I requeſt, in return, the ſupport of your prayers, and that you will ſalute in my name your brother-biſhops, as well as the whole Chriſtian flock over which God has made you an overſeer. Farewell.

Given at Weſtmiſter, the 10th day of July 1737.

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“ per es evectus, sincere atque ex intimo corde gra-
 “ tulator: qui tibi haud sine eximio merito delatus
 “ honos, ut ecclesiæ salutaris sit, nec tibi tuisve
 “ unquam pœnitendus, ardenti prece contendo.
 “ Hoc enim fastigio, quo Divina me Providentia,
 “ utcunque imparem, constituit, penitus effem in-
 “ dignus, nisi me universo Dei populo, pro virili,
 “ opem ferre semper exhiberem paratum; vos autem,
 “ præ cæteris, amem atque amplectar, qui, nec pe-
 “ riculis territi, nec aliis quibusvis Satanæ πειρασμοῖς
 “ seducti, una cum pura primævaque fide, primæ-
 “ vam etiam ecclesiæ disciplinam constanter adhuc, ut
 “ accepimus, tuentes, arctiori nobiscum vinculo con-
 “ juncti estis. Precibus me tuis, oro, vicissim ad-
 “ juves: co-episcopis, autem tuis, totique, cui te
 “ Deus præesse voluit, Christiano gregi salutem no-
 “ mine meo impertias. Vale.

“ Dabam Westmonasterii, IV. Id. Aug.
 “ MDCCXXXVII.”

Dr. *Isaac Watts* also gave a testimony to this church,
 “ under the patronage of that noble and excellent
 “ person, count Zinzendorf,” in a letter, dated Dec.
 21, 1738.

But the *Act of Parliament* passed in the year 1747,
 and that of the year 1749, *for encouraging the people*
known by the name of Unitas Fratrum, or, United Bre-
thren, show that they were not unknown in their re-
 vived state in England.

This is, however, the first genuine and authentic
 history of the church of the Brethren, published in
 England.

A small

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A small pamphlet was printed and published in the year 1775, entitled, *A concise historical Account of the present Constitution of the Unitas Fratrum*; as also, *A succinct View of the Missions of the Brethren*: which are both authentic.

But even this history, as the Author tells us in his preface, “is no complete history of the church of the Brethren. It is no more than an *Essay*” towards it, or, a summary of their history, given to the public, for the sake of such as would be glad to obtain a true account of this church.

It will appear from this short history of the church of the Brethren, that no Christian church has passed through more vicissitudes, has been more oppressed and persecuted, or seemed nearer its extinction, than this: and yet, God, in his grace and wisdom, has thought fit to preserve it unto this day.

I cannot refrain giving to the reader an extract of an “Address of the ancient Church of the Brethren to the Church of England*, which, by king Charles the Second’s special orders, was recommended, under the hands of his grace *William Sancroft*, lord archbishop of Canterbury, and *Henry Compton*, lord bishop of London, to all pious and compassionate Christians. In which address it is set forth,

“That the Bohemian church has been free, from her infancy, for almost seven hundred years, from the encroachments of the Roman see. Crushed at last by its prevailing power, it was sinking apace

* See *Acta Fratrum*, &c. *Report*, &c. page 19.

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into death and ruin ; when, being ready to expire, she brought forth a *Benoni* ; a progeny which, growing up in the several parts of Bohemia, animated and acted by one and the same spirit, obtained the name of *Unitas Fratrum*, Fraternal Unity :—as it appears by Lasitius and other authors.

“ That this fraternity, the heirs of the truly ancient faith, watered and enriched with the blood of Hufs and Jerom of Prague, her famous martyrs, taking deep root in Bohemia, spread its boughs as far as Poland, renounced the growing errors of popery, and preserved the succession of episcopal orders.

“ That this church — was bereft of her former protection, languishing, ever since, under the rage and fury of those who violate all faith.

“ That it was through the bounty of the English church they were formerly saved from a fatal ruin : but that, after so great suffering, they have scarce recovered their spirits ; having also lost the assistance of the secular power, which for some time supported them.

“ That they saved their lives ; but lost their strength.” —

Though, at that time, thus reduced ; yet they were brought to a much lower ebb, and, in the opinion of many, totally extinct in the beginning of this century. It, however, pleased God to preserve a remnant, who proved a seed which the Lord blessed. And this small seed is, by the hand of God, become a tree, which has borne some fruit, and will, through his

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his grace, bear more, to the glory of our Father in heaven.

The congregations of the Brethren, and the individuals who compose them, do not count themselves, as though they had already attained, either were already perfect. They are persuaded there is much room for amendment. As they have but one head and master, the Lord Jesus Christ, they confide in his grace, that he will lead them still farther in his blessed ways. And, after all possible attainments, they trust, their language will be, as it now is, God forbid that we should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ!

BENJAMIN LA TROBE.

A LIST

A L I S T

O F T H E

B O O K S and M A N U S C R I P T S

Made use of in compiling this HISTORY.

COMENII Kirchen-Historie der Boehmischen Brueder.
(John Amos Comenius's Ecclesiastical History of the
Bohemian Brethren.)

ADRIANI REGENVOLSCII Systema historico-chronologicum
Ecclesiarum Slavonicarum. (Adrian Regenvolscius's
historical and chronological System of the Slavonian
Churches.)

Historia Persecutionis Ecclesiarum Bohemicarum. It. Elfners
Uebersetzung der Boehmischen Verfolgungs-Geschichte.
(History of the Persecutions of the Bohemian Churches :
or, Elfner's German Translation of it.)

PAUL STRANSKY De Republica Bohemorum.

RIEGERS Salzbund. (Rieger's Covenant of Salt.)

RIEGERS Boehmische Brueder. (Rieger's Bohemian Brethren.)

CHRISTOPH AUGUST SALIGs Historie der Augspurgischen
Confession. (Salig's History of the Confession of Augs-
burg.)

JOACHIMI CAMERARII Historica Narratio de Fratrum or-
thodoxorum Ecclesiis in Bohemia, Moravia, et Polonia.
(Joachim Camerarius's historical Account of the Congre-
gations of the orthodox Brethren in Bohemia, Moravia,
and Poland.)

JOANNIS LASITII Historia de Origine et Gestis Fratrum
Bohemorum. (John Lasitius's History of the Origin of,
and the Events in, the Church of the Bohemian Brethren,
in Manuscript.)

HENRICUS MILDE In Catechismum Minorem beati Lutheri.
(Henry Milde on the Lesser Catechism of the late Dr.
Luther.)

JOHANN

A List of Books and MANUSCRIPTS

- JOHANN GOTTLIEB CARPZOV'S Religions-Untersuchung der Boehmischen Brueder. (Dr. Carpzov's Examination of the Religion of the Bohemian Brethren.)
- Acta historico-ecclesiastica. (A Collection of Records belonging to Church-History.)
- ELSNERS Boehmisch-Evangelischer Palmbaum. (Elsner's Protestant-Bohemian Palmtree.)
- JOANNIS AMOS COMENII Ratio Disciplinæ, Ordinisque ecclesiastici in Unitate Fratrum Bohemorum. (Comenius's Account of the Church-Discipline and Order in the Unity of the Bohemian Brethren.)
- Ejusdem Ecclesiæ Slavonicæ brevis Historia. (A concise History of the Slavonian Church. By the same.)
- An Exhortation of the Churches of Bohemia to the Church of England, &c. By the same. (See the Editor's Preface.)
- GEORGE HOLYKS Beschreibung des Zustandes des Koenigreichs Boehmen. (George Holyk's Description of the State of the Kingdom of Bohemia.)
- Martyrologium Bohemicum. (Martyrology of the Bohemians.)
- DANIELIS ERNESTI JABLONSKY Epistola Apologetica ad Dom. Mauciere. (Dr. Jablonsky's Apologetic Letter to Mons. de Mauciere.)
- Epistola de Ordinatione et Successione Episcopali in Unitate Fratrum Bohemorum conservata; quæ legitur in CHRIST. MATTH. PFAFFII Institutionibus Juris Ecclesiastici. (Dissertation concerning the Ordination and episcopal Succession, preserved in the Unity of the Bohemian Brethren; to be found in Dr. Pfaff's Institutions of the ecclesiastical Law.)
- Historia o Cyrkwj Czeske. (History of the Bohemian Church, in Manuscript.)
- AUGUSTIN SCHULZENS Lebenslauf. (The Bohemian Minister Augustin Schulz's Life, in Manuscript.)
- Desselben Kirchenbuch der Boehmischen Gemeinde zu Ruecksdorf. (Schulz's Church-book of the Bohemian Congregation at Ruecksdorf, in Manuscript.)

ZACHARIAS GELINEKS Historische Nachricht von der Boehmischen Brueder Erwekkung, Aufgang, &c. (Zachary Gelinek's Historical Account of the Bohemian Brethren's Awakening, Emigration, &c. in Manuscript.)

Geschichts-Erzehlung verschiedener um des Evangelii willen aus Boehmen und Maehren vertriebener Leute, &c. Basel, 1749. (Account of the History of several People expelled Bohemia and Moravia for the sake of the Gospel.)

Schreiben des Saechsischen General-Lieutenants von ZEJSCHWIZ an seinen Herrn Bruder, 1759. (A Letter from the Saxon Lieutenant-General de Zetzschwiz to his own Brother, in Manuscript.)

Neueste Nachricht zur Historie der Boehmischen Brueder, &c. in MOSERS Altes und Neues aus dem Reich Gottes. (The newest Account relative to the History of the Bohemian Brethren, &c. in Moser's Things Old and New of the Kingdom of God.)

ISAAC LELONG Godts Wonderen met Zyne Kerke, of Gedenkwaardig Verhaal van de Boheemsche en Moravische Broeders. (Isaac Lelong's Wonders of God with his Church, or, Remarkable Account of the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren.)

ZEPLERS Universal-Lexicon.

Buedingische Samlung einiger in die Kirchenhistorie einschlagender Schriften. (A Collection of certain Pieces relating to Church-History, chiefly in this Century, printed at Buedingen in Wetteravia, in three Volumes.)

Gegenwaertige Gestalt des Creuzreichs Jesu in seiner Unschuld. (The present Form of the Cross's Kingdom of Jesus in its Purity.)

Freywillige Nachlese, &c. (Freewilling Gleaning, &c. in two Volumes.)

SIEGFRIEDS Beleuchtung des Baumgartenschen Bedenkens. (Siegfried's Consideration of Dr. Baumgarten's Opinion.)

Des Grafen von ZINZENDORF Περι Εξουης: das ist, Naturelle Reflexiones, &c. (Count Zinzendorf's Natural Reflexions.)

A List of BOOKS and MANUSCRIPTS, &c.

- M. AUGUST GOTTLIEB SPANGENBERGS Declaration ueber die Beschuldigungen, &c. (Declaration concerning the Accusations, &c.)
- Desselden Darlegung richtiger Antworten auf mehr als dreyhundert Beschuldigungen gegen den Ordinarium Fratrum. (True Answers given to more than three hundred Accusations against the Ordinary of the Brethren.)
- Desselden Apologetische Schlussschrift, &c. (Final Apology.)
- Des Grafen von ZINZENDORF Sendschreiben und Bedenken. (Count Zinzendorf's Letters and Considerations.)
- Desselden Teutsche Gedichte. (His German Poems.)
- Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia, MDCCXLIX. (Transactions of the Unity of the Brethren in England, printed in the Year 1749.) Containing the *Report* of the Committee of the House, &c. with an *Appendix* of the Vouchers, &c.
- Universal Magazine of the Months of April and May 1749. London.
- Nachricht von der Brueder-Kirche, 1757. (An Account of the Church of the Brethren, of 1757.)
- DAVID CRANZ Historie von Groenland, &c. Geschichte der dortigen Mission der Evangelischen Brueder, &c. 1765. (David Cranz's History of Greenland, &c. Relation of the Mission sent thither by the Unitas Fratrum.)
- Desselden Fortsetzung der Historie von Groenland, &c. 1770. (Continuation of the History of Greenland, not yet translated into English.)
- C. G. A. OLDENDORPS Geschichte der Mission der Evangelischen Brueder auf den Caraibischen Inseln St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. Jan. Herausgegeben durch JOHANN JAKOB BOSSART. 1777. (Oldendorp's History of the Mission of the Evangelical Brethren, in the Caribbee Islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. Jan. Published by John Jacob Bossart.)

T H E

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

IT has been wished for many years past, that some one would lay before the Public an *History of the Brethren*, that is, a true and faithful relation of the remarkable events in the ecclesiastical history of this century, which have occurred in the *Unitas Fratrum*, or, *the Protestant Bohemian-Moravian Church of the Brethren adhering to the Confession of Augsburg*; which church was almost extinguished one hundred and fifty years ago in Bohemia and Moravia, but renewed about the year 1722 at *Herrnbut* in Upper Lusatia, and has, since then, within a few years, spread in every quarter of the globe.

The subject is in itself so important, that it well deserves to be presented in its true colours to the attention of the Public, and to be thus transmitted to posterity. For, what has hitherto been written about it, is incomplete, partly devoid of authenticity, and often notoriously perverted and false. This is not always to be ascribed to the bad intention of the historians, but chiefly to the want of authentic accounts. The Brethren, on their part, have communicated to the public little or nothing in its proper connection; and even that which they have published was either forgotten, or so distorted and covered with falsehoods by many adversaries, that a candid and impartial reader was not able to find his

way out of this labyrinth. Was he desirous to obtain information of the Brethren; as, indeed, many historians have requested a succinct, connected sketch of their history, to insert it in their works, or to use it as a clue; the persons applied to were unable to execute it in an authentic manner, for want of time, and of the necessary documents. They were, therefore, obliged to console them with the hope that the Brethren were collecting materials for an history of the rise of, and the chief revolutions and occurrences in, the Church of the Brethren in all its branches, congregations, missions, and colonies.

This work was particularly committed to the ministers in the congregations and missions; and to this I have also contributed in my department. But, as much time and leisure was required before the materials, thus collected, could be prepared and arranged for a complete church-history of the Brethren, I found myself induced to draw up a brief history of the rise, the events and principal revolutions of the church of the Brethren in Bohemia, Moravia, and Poland, and of the renewal and spread of it in the later years. I was induced to this by the express desire of some historians in both protestant religions, who complained of the want of authentic accounts, and received with peculiar pleasure the oral relation of this and the other event; as well as by the wishes of the Brethren, and of many friends, to whom the *History of Greenland* had given a clearer light into the whole affair of the Brethren.

To this end, I made use of the well-known historians of the ancient church of the Brethren. The *Church-History of Comenius* being known in both the

German and Latin tongues, I made a short extract of it, which I rendered more complete by some remarkable passages out of *Lasitius*, *Camerarius* and *Regenvolscius*, out of the *Historia Persecutionis Ecclesiarum Bohemicarum*, *Saligs Historie der Augspurgischen Confession*, *Riegers Salzbund* and *Boehmische Brueder*, &c. In the modern history of the Brethren, besides the accounts which were already compiled from relations by word of mouth, and a great number of written documents which I had in my possession, I principally had recourse to the *Buedingische Samlung*, *Count Zinzendorf's Naturelle Reflexionen*, and other writings quoted in this History, which are printed. I have pointed out in the notes where the reader may turn to find the proofs, or a farther illustration, of what I have related.

My design was, to write with all possible brevity, that the reader might be able at one view to survey the principal revolutions in the church of the Brethren. To that end, I had only mentioned the beginning and occasion of every matter, congregation, mission, and such like; and related the motives and chief circumstances of them. But the publication having been delayed by my other occupations, I was enabled by the farther accounts and documents, which, in the mean time, came to hand, beside the beginning and occasion, to add the progress and the various changes of every event to the present time. But, lest the reader's mind and memory might be perplexed through the multiplicity of matters, I have not related them in the way of annals; but have divided them, according to the principal oc-

currences, into Ten Periods, comprising in them every capital event, both in the church of the Brethren in general, and in each congregation, colony, and mission in particular.

From hence the reader himself will be able to form the right conception of this work. It is no complete history of the church of the Brethren. This would have been a work of more time and more previous labour. It is no more than an *Essay*, and indeed the very first of the kind, which has been compiled to oblige and serve some candid historians who desired it, and others who wished to see a true and connected account of the rise and progress of each congregation and mission of the Brethren.

In compiling this work, I have endeavoured to relate every thing with as much *brevity* as possible, strictly adhering to the *truth*, to be *candid*, *upright*, and *impartial*.

My plan of *brevity* confined me to the chief events in the church of the Brethren, without descending to many transactions of individuals. But, as the late Count *Zinzendorf* has been a principal character in the renewed church of the Brethren; I could not possibly avoid taking notice of many of his transactions, so far as they had any influence upon the affairs of the church of the Brethren: although we hope to see them soon set in a more clear and full light in the *Memoirs of his life* *. But yet, I have related every thing touching him, as well as every

* These Memoirs of the Life of Count Zinzendorf have been printed in Germany in eight volumes, two of which have been translated, and published in English. (The Editor.)

other incident and transaction of the Brethren, as concisely as possible. With respect to such events only, as have given rise to particularly remarkable revolutions in the affairs of the Brethren, I have been more full and circumstantial.

No one will doubt that I had it in my power to come at a more certain and thorough knowledge of the true state of affairs, than the authors who were not of the Brethren's church; and much more so than their adversaries. My conscience bears me witness that I have written the *truth*, as I have found and proved it after the most mature examination. If, therefore, a reader should find many things, which he had formerly heard or read, either entirely omitted, or related differently; if he, on the other hand, should discover some things, which he has hitherto either not heard at all, or, at least, not considered in the same light, it is to be hoped, that he will give credit to them as here related, and place the opposite relations and explications to the right account, if he cannot excuse them with the want of authentic records in the time past.

The work which I describe is a work of God. This even some of the antagonists allow. But the instruments which God has been pleased to use in it were men. It, therefore, could not be conducted without mistakes. A reader who loves the truth, will not expect to read the faults, yea crimes, which the adversaries or slanderers of the Brethren have unjustly laid to their charge, with a refutation of them. This is an history, and no apology. What is actually true, I would not conceal; but have *candidly* and

uprightly pointed out the mistakes and errors of my Brethren; some of which are known, and some, perhaps, hitherto entirely unknown, to the public. I have followed herein the advice of my Brethren, who have, with an open, honest heart, pointed out to me many mistakes which had been hitherto unknown to myself. But I have chiefly taken for my pattern, the inspired writers of the Old and New Testament, who have not concealed the faults of the most eminent Men of God, but recorded them for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness. My Brethren, and every Christian and candid reader will make the same use of my integrity. It is to be hoped that they will not disown the work of God on account of human weaknesses, but rather praise him the more, who has preserved it, notwithstanding all the mistakes in our own circle, and the opposition from without.

Throughout the whole I have endeavoured to be *impartial*. Knowingly and with design I have written no untruth of others, nor mentioned and treated any adversary of the Brethren in an unbecoming manner; much less have I attacked any religion, denomination, and institution, or laid it to their charge, if any of their members have oppressed, scandalized, and persecuted the Brethren. I could not, however, totally pass them by in silence; otherwise, my Brethren who know these things, would have been deprived of many principal circumstances; and some readers out of our circle would have missed the form of the cross, which is the characteristic of a true congregation of Jesus. But yet I have

have either entirely omitted many a grievous oppression; or, whenever I was obliged to mention them, I have done it with all modesty, with every possible excuse of the persons concerned, and with the respect due to each constitution. The same impartiality I have endeavoured to observe towards my Brethren. I have neither written, nor concealed, any thing to please, or to displease, any one; and have carefully avoided the influence of any prepossession in me for or against any person or matter.

I cannot deny that it has cost me much time and labour to collect the necessary materials for this work, and to sift every thing to the bottom. But I must own, at the same time, that this labour has proved a great blessing to me. The meditation upon the wonderful ways of God with his church in general, and with the congregations of the Brethren in particular, has excited me to praise and thanksgiving. The sincerely devoted mind, and the boldness of faith of his servants have often put me to shame, and provoked to an emulation of their zeal. Their faults and weaknesses have not lessened them in my eyes; but made the work of God appear the greater. The patience and grace of God, in bearing with and rectifying so many mistakes, have awakened my confidence in him anew; and the preservation and furtherance of his work, amidst all the perplexing circumstances from within, and the numberless oppressions from without, have strengthened my faith, and encouraged me in the cheerful service of a Lord, so loving, gracious, powerful, and wise. Nor have I the least doubt but that many an at-

tentive reader will reap the same advantages from these considerations.

Those of my Brethren, who, after this way, have worshipped God for a long time, and longer than I, will *consider the days of old, the years of ancient times*, often, indeed, with deep abatement, but, at the same time, with inward joy and gratitude. Those who entered into their labours will discover the mind of their predecessors, what trouble and pains it has cost them, and how many difficulties they, at the hazard of their lives, had to encounter and to surmount before this work, through the grace of God, so far succeeded, that their successors now can reap the benefit of it, and have only to be attentive to the preserving and carrying it on in a blessed manner. How many rejoice, when they read or hear of the blessed work of God among Christians and Heathens; though they are ignorant of the distressing circumstances with which the beginning was attended, and how it was afterwards conducted! Such find here all this in a short compass, and may, at all events, make use of this small, and, on account of the multiplicity of materials, still imperfect work, as a manual to refer to. Every reader, attentive to the Brethren's church, who would be glad to know the truth, is here furnished with a plan and a clue by which he may find his way through the mazes of the many, and oft surprisingly contradictory, false reports and conceptions, and thus arrive at a certainty.

Should

Should I be so fortunate as to see this my aim obtained, I should think my labour well bestowed.

But unto the Lamb which was slain, and hath redeemed us to God by his blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation; to him be glory at all times in that church which waiteth for him, and in that which is about him, from everlasting to everlasting! Amen.

Bertholdsdorf,
March 22, 1771.

DAVID CRANZ,

C O N T E N T S.

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THE
ANCIENT HISTORY
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BRETHREN.

PART I.

*The State of the Christian Religion in Bohemia, until
the Beginning of the Church of the Brethren in the
Year 1457.*

§ I.

IT is believed, that the gospel had, even in the days of the Apostles, been preached in Illyricum and Dalmatia; and this is proved from Rom. xv. 19. 2 Tim. iv. 10. Mention is also made of bishops and martyrs from these parts, as early as the second and third century. St. Jerom, a native of Illyricum, is by some supposed to be the first, who, for the use of his countrymen, translated the Bible into his own mother-tongue. The Sclavonians, therefore, who rent these provinces from the Grecian empire, found even then Christian churches there, and by degrees embraced the gospel; insomuch that Sclavonian bishops were expected at the sixth council held at Constantinople in the year 680: but they, as well as those of Lombardy, the native land of the Waldenses, declined to appear;

pear, being averse to image-worship. The whole Slavonian nation, however, did not embrace the Christian religion till the ninth century; when the sister of Bogaris, king of Bulgaria, having been taken prisoner in a war with the Grecian emperor *Michael* III. and carried to Constantinople; on her return after the peace, by the assistance of *Cyrillus* and *Methodius*, Greek monks, induced her brother to be baptized, and, in honour to her benefactor, to adopt the name of *Michael*. His subjects followed his example, and most of the Slavonian nations, by means of these Greeks, received the gospel.

§ 2.

By the above two Greek monks, King *Suatopluk*, in Moravia, about the year 860, and Duke *Borzywog* and his consort *Ludomilla*, in Bohemia, in 890, were converted to the Christian religion. *Methodius* was the first bishop of *Wehlehrad*, at that time the chief city of Moravia, and regulated the form of the divine worship according to the rites of the Greek church, in the Slavonian language; into which also *Cyrillus* is supposed to have translated the Bible, which translation is to this day as much in use among the Slavonian nations adhering to the Greek church, as the Vulgate is in the Latin church. Persecution was not wanting. The Duke was expelled by his heathen subjects; but, returning, died soon after. The duchess-dowager, at the instigation of her daughter-in-law *Drahomira*, was strangled in the chapel; and her grandson *Wenceslaus*, about the year 930, assassinated by his own brother *Boleslaus*, who was still a heathen. The Christians were persecuted and driven out of the country, the priests massacred, and the churches demolished.

§ 3.

FROM this persecution, the emperor *Otho I.* took occasion to unite Bohemia to the empire; and the pope had also an opportunity of bringing the Greek Christians under the See of Rome. The emperor compelled *Boleslaus* to desist from his persecution, and to acknowledge him his sovereign. His son *Boleslaus II.* erected in 968 a bishopric at Prague, and solicited for *Dithmar*, a canon of *Magdeburg*, to be the bishop. But, by the command of Pope John XIII, the archbishop of Mentz did not dare to install him, until the Bohemians, abandoning the Greek, had adopted the Latin ritual. They obtained, indeed, by a deputation, after a struggle of ten years, the indulgence to have divine service again performed in their own language; yet it was but of short duration. Nevertheless, they maintained by force their freedom, which the popes either refused to allow them of their own good-will, or soon divested them of, until the year 1350, when the emperor Charles IV, having changed the see of Prague into an archbishopric, founded an university there, which he furnished with professors from Germany and Italy, who, together with the Latin Liturgy, introduced the celibacy of the clergy, and the doctrine of transubstantiation; abolished the use of the cup, and persuaded, by degrees, the Bohemians of the first rank, who were not willing to forfeit all favour and preferments at court, into all the opinions and rites of the Romish church.

§ 4.

“ Yet, in the midst of all this, *a right seed was still left* *.
 “ For, just in the right time, when the purity of the Greek
 “ church, both in doctrine and in worship, was daily de-

* These are the words of *Paul Stranfsky*, de Repub. Bohem.
 p. 272.

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“clining even among the people; the Waldenses, in
 “1176, arrived in Bohemia, and settled at *Satz* and *Laun*
 “on the river Eger. These joined those Bohemians, who
 “were still tenacious of the rites of the Greek church.
 “They showed them the defects of their religious exer-
 “cises; and introduced among them a purer knowledge
 “of the doctrines of the Christian faith, according to the
 “word of God. By this means the upright were confirmed
 “in the faith, and such as were fallen asleep, again
 “awakened.”

These ancient Christians (who, besides the several names of reproach given them, were at length denominated *Waldenses*, from one of their most eminent teachers PETER WALDUS, who is said to have emigrated with the rest from France into Bohemia, and there to have died) date their origin from the beginning of the fourth century; when one Leo, at the great revolution in religion under *Constantine the Great*, opposed the innovations of Sylvester, bishop of Rome. Nay, *Rieger* goes farther still, taking them for the remains of the people of the Vallies, who, when the Apostle Paul, as is said, made a journey over the Alps into Spain, were converted to Christ*.

According to the testimony of others, they came originally from Armenia into Bulgaria. There they had a patri-

* The testimony of their enemies themselves seems to corroborate this conjecture.

Sancho Reinerus, an apostate, and persecutor of the Waldenses in the thirteenth century, writes, “Amongst all sects, none is more
 “pernicious than that of *the Poor of Lyons* (which is another denomination of the Waldenses) for three reasons: 1. Because
 “it is the most ancient. Some aver their existence from the
 “days of Sylvester; others, from the very time of the Apostles.
 “2. Because it is so universal; for there is hardly a country into
 “which this sect has not crept. 3. Because all others render
 “themselves detestable by their blasphemies; but this has a
 “great appearance of godliness, they living a righteous life
 “before men, believing right concerning God, confessing all
 “the articles of the creed, only hating the pope of Rome, &c.”

arch

arch, by whom their elders, in other countries, were ordained, and of whom they asked counsel. Thus, they also, in part, owe their origin to the Greek church. Be that as it may, historians are unanimous in this, that they have been the most ancient witnesses of the truth, against the rising and prevailing abuses; that they spread, and maintained themselves, notwithstanding the very numerous and cruel persecutions, in all christian countries; kept up the succession of the episcopal ordination, if not in a direct line from the apostles themselves, yet from the time of, and through, *Claudius*, bishop of *Turin*, in the ninth century, and proved in a great measure instrumental in promoting the reformation.

These united Waldenses and Bohemians held, in many places, their private, and, in others, public meetings; sent missions from Bohemia to England, Hungary, to the margraviate of Brandenburg, Pomerania, &c.; assisted their suffering Brethren of the Waldenses in their distress, and supplied them with ministers from the seminary of their Brethren in Italy, whither, as to an university, they sent their youth from Bohemia. This continued above two hundred years, till 1391, when, being discovered through the imprudence of two of their preachers, they were cruelly persecuted, and, for the most part, dispersed abroad in the adjacent countries. Yet many witnesses of the truth remained in Bohemia; who, not only in private, but in the churches and schools, and in the very court-chapel at Prague, testified against the corruption in doctrine and practice, which now broke in more and more like a torrent; to which they were farther greatly encouraged by the writings of Wickliffe, brought from England by the young noblesse who studied there.

§ 5.

THE most distinguished person among these witnesses of the truth was JOHN HUSS. He was born in the village of *Hussinetz*, 1373, took his master's degree, and was made a

professor at the age of twenty years; and in 1400, minister at the *Bethlehem-church*, which had, just before, been erected by a citizen of Prague, purely for preaching in the Bohemian tongue. He was also confessor to Sophia, queen of Bohemia. Upon the German professors and students withdrawing from thence in great numbers, through vexation at the infringement by king *Wenceslaus*, of the privileges granted them by Charles IV; he was preferred to the rectorship of the university at Prague. He defended Wickliffe's tenets, preached both against the vices of the clergy and all other orders and degrees, and against the shameful traffic with indulgences, grounding his doctrine upon the Holy Scriptures, the example of Christ, and the concurrence of the primitive church. On this account, he was summoned to appear at Rome; and, upon his refusal, an interdict of all divine service was laid upon the city. To obviate the tumult this interdict might occasion among the people, he retired from the city, and preached every where in the country; until, having received a summons to make his defence before the council, and being furnished with a safe-conduct from the emperor *Sigismund*, he went to *Constance*. Here the bishops accused him of heresy, but without being able to convict him. He, however, received sentence of death, and on the 6th of July 1415, finished his life at the stake, as a martyr, singing hymns of praise, and showing extraordinary constancy and cheerfulness.

His colleague, *Jerom of Prague*, who, having, out of love to the truth, followed him, without either summons or safe-conduct, had, at the first shock, denied the truth, but maintained it with the greater firmness and triumph afterwards; suffered, on the 30th of May 1416, the same death, with a cheerfulness which his enemies themselves admired.

§ 6.

OF this injustice, and of the indignity offered to their nation, the Bohemians complained to the council, in a protest,

protest, executed by the university and all the states. But, having met with no redress, and being rather treated as heretics, they renounced the papal authority, and, upon the death of king *Wenceslaus*, refused to recognise the emperor *Sigismund* as their king.

This gave rise to the so-called *Hussite war*, carried on by the enraged Bohemians under the command of *John de Trautenau*, surnamed *Ziska*, three years, and still ten years after his death, with almost incredible victories over the emperor, and their neighbours who were stirred up to enter upon a crusade; and with inhuman cruelties on both sides. They themselves were not agreed in their tenets. The most eminent and powerful persons amongst them, together with the learned men of Prague, contended properly about the restitution of the cup in the sacrament only, and were from thence denominated **CALIXTINES**, or also, *the Masters of Prague*. Many, who, from the very first aimed at a purer doctrine and worship, and for the greater security performed divine service upon a mountain, which *Ziska* fortified afterwards for his camp, and called **TABOR**, got the name of **TABORITES**. Among these were many of *Huss's* genuine followers, who were persecuted by the **Calixtines** themselves. Upon the death of *Ziska*, they divided themselves again, according to the diversity of their opinions and views, into *Calixtines*, *Taborites*, and *Orphans*; and such as, with a distinguished zeal, urged an entire reformation, were termed *Zealots*. But, in times of distress, they all united against their common enemies, who, being not able to carry their point against them, granted their deputies at the council of Basil, in 1433, the terms contained in the following four articles, bearing the name of *The Bohemian Compastata*, or terms of agreement.

1. The Word of God shall be freely preached by able ministers, according to the Holy Scriptures, without any human inventions.

2. The Lord's supper shall be administered unto all in both kinds, and divine worship performed in the mother-tongue.

3. Open sins shall be openly punished, according to the law of God, without respect of persons.

4. The clergy shall exercise no worldly dominion, but preach the gospel.

In every other point the deputies showed all submission, and were esteemed good children.

Yet many of the people were dissatisfied with this concession of liberty, the second article of which only took place; and renewed the war under *Procopius*, commander of the Taborites. But they were totally routed and dispersed by the Calixtines, who, by the advice of their deputy *Rokyzan*, had contented themselves with the cup.

§ 7.

THIS *Rokyzan*, in hopes of being made archbishop of Prague, was gained over at the council of Basil to be contented with the cup, and in all other points to keep the Bohemians to the church of Rome, and to its doctrine and rites. He was, accordingly, elected archbishop, in 1435, upon the demise of the archbishop *Conrad Westphal*, who, as early as 1422, on laying down his office, had erected a consistory of four *Calixtine* priests. But, the investiture having been denied him, till he would renounce the afore-said compactata, and give up the cup, it seemed as if he would undertake an entire reformation of the church; and, both in doctrine and church-government, act no longer according to the compactata, but to the rule of the apostles, and the pattern of the primitive church. To this he was farther encouraged by some of his most upright hearers; who could not acquiesce in a mixed worship of God, but were determined to follow the doctrine and example of the late Hufs. At the diet in 1450, he prevailed upon the states to send a deputation to *Constantinople*, to solicit a re-union

union with the Greek church. This church received the deputies with joy, promising them, in an answer written by their patriarch *Nicomedes*, dated January the 18th, 1451, to consecrate their bishops. But this hope vanished, by the Turks taking Constantinople two years after, and thus putting an end to the Greek empire. Rokyzan was solicited several times, and in the most pressing manner, by the genuine followers of Hufs, with his sister's son *Gregory* at their head, to enter upon an entire reformation, and a salutary church-discipline. This *Gregory* is represented in the *History of the Bohemian Persecution*, as a kind of founder and patriarch of the *Unity of the Brethren*. Rokyzan confirmed them in their laudable intention; yet believed, that there was no such thing as thinking of a reformation among the promiscuous multitude of the Calixtines; advising them rather to establish a community among themselves, and to edify one another from the word of God, and other profitable books, some of which he gave them at the same time. But they were desirous of having him, as the head of the Bohemian church, for their counsellor and guide, in order to obviate the appearance of a schism. This, however, did not seem to suit him, fearing he might hazard his character, if not his archbishopric, in an enterprise of this kind: therefore he, at first, gave them his advice to be still, and not precipitate; and at length peremptorily refused it in terms very severe and cutting. Nevertheless, he obtained for them permission of the regent *George Podiebrad*, to withdraw to the king's domain, in the lordship of *Lititz*, near *Leutomischel*, on the boundary between Silesia and Moravia, which domain had been laid waste by the ravages of war; to settle there, and regulate their divine worship according to their own insight and conscience.

THE
ANCIENT HISTORY
OF THE
BRETHREN.

PART II.

The Formation, Extension, and Persecution of the Church of the Brethren, to the Time of the Reformation by Luther.

§ 8.

THUS, about the year 1453, some families of the citizens of Prague, and also gentry and learned men of this and other places, repaired to the lordship of *Lititz*, and made use of the ministry of some of the Calixtine ministers, in whom they reposed a confidence, especially *Michael Bradazius*, minister of the town of *Zamberg*. These abolished many superfluous ceremonies, and restored the decayed church-discipline, not suffering any one to receive the holy communion, who had not first undergone their examination, and been declared fit for it. Of this they were accused by the neighbouring ministers before the consistory; who forbade them to preach, and administer the holy communion, and placed others in their room. The Brethren, being condemned by these ministers in all their sermons, absented

absented themselves from the churches, made their remonstrance to *Rokyzan* and his suffragan *Lupacius*, and begged for an examination. The former sent them away as they came; but the latter advised them to edify each other in stillness, to chuse their ministers from among themselves, and to introduce good discipline and order. The same advice they received from other well disposed ministers of the Calixtines, who, on that very account, were forced to incur some share of the Brethren's reproach and persecution.

They followed this advice, and took Michael Bradazius, who repaired to them at *Kunewald*, for their minister. He, with his assistants in other villages, under the direction of Gregory, met in 1457, in a conference; in which, according to the light they then had, they formed their church-fellowship among themselves, not upon the plan of the fore-mentioned Compactata, or upon that of other privileges and rules of men, but upon the rules and the law of Christ. Hence, in the beginning, they denominated themselves *Fratres Legis Christi*, or, *Brethren of the Law of Christ*.

But, as this gave occasion to less intelligent persons, to look upon them as some new monastic order; they, dropping this name, stiled themselves simply, *Fratres*, or, *Brethren*; and, being afterwards joined by many other Brethren of like disposition with themselves in Bohemia, *Unitas Fratrum*, *The Unity of the Brethren*, or, *Fratres Unitatis*, *The United Brethren*; and, at same time, bound themselves to a stricter church-discipline, resolved to suffer all things for conscience sake, and, instead of defending themselves, as the so-called Hussites had done, by force of arms, to defend themselves by prayer and reasonable remonstrances against the rage of their enemies.

§ 9.

BEFORE three years had elapsed, they were called to prove in fact *what manner of spirit they were of*. For, as not only many sincere souls out of the whole empire repaired to them, but also little flocks of Brethren sprung up every where in Bohemia and Moravia, and joined them; they were stigmatised both by Calixtine and Romish priests, not only as heretics, but as secret sowers of sedition. Charged with forming a dangerous state within the state, and with an intention to renew the Taborite tumults, which were scarcely laid, and even to seize the government, they were summoned to appear before the consistory at Prague. *Rokyzan*, though the very adviser of the steps they had taken, for fear of diminishing his credit and character, durst not patronise them; but upbraided them with an inconsiderate schism, and with extending themselves abroad in a rash and headlong manner; which could end in nothing but popular tumults. *George Podiebrad*, though far from being disinclined towards them, neither would, nor could, protect them against the rage of their incensed enemies. For, upon the decease of king *Ladislav* in his minority, in the year 1458, having been elected king, and having by his coronation-oath promised to extirpate the heretics; he was under a necessity to consent to a persecution of the Brethren, that he might not altogether break his word, and that the *Calixtines*, by whose interest he had ascended the throne, might be screened.

Thus the first bloody persecution against the united Brethren in Moravia and Bohemia took place. They were declared unworthy of the common rights of subjects; and, in the depth of winter, turned out of the cities and villages, with the forfeiture of all their effects. The sick were cast out into the open fields, where many perished with hunger and cold. They threw them into prisons, with a view to extort from them, by hunger, cold, racks, and tortures, a confession of seditious designs, and an impeachment of their accomplices. And, when nothing could be extorted from them, they were maimed on hands and feet, dragged inhu-
manly

manly at the tails of horses or carts, and quartered, or burnt alive. Many died in the prisons, and such as survived, were at last, when no crime could be proved against them, discharged in the most pitiable condition; the confistory having issued a command, that the Lord's supper should be administered to none but with the ceremonies in use among the Calixtines, and especially not to the *Picards**, (an invidious name the Brethren were stigmatised with) under pain of death.

§ 10.

DURING this persecution, the Brethren in Lititz did not cease to send to all places, to strengthen the persecuted in the faith, and to exhort them to patience. Among others, *Gregory*, *Rokyzan's* nephew, came to Prague; but, upon his having just held a meeting, he was surprised on a sudden, and, together with some others, committed to prison by the judge or justice, with these affecting words, “ *It is written, all that will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution; therefore, follow me, by command of the higher powers!*” Under the rack he fell into a swoon; during which, it is said, he had a vision of the three men, who were, six years after, elected the first bishops of the Brethren. They appeared as the guardians of a blooming tree, on the fruits of which many lovely singing birds were feeding. Every one supposed him dead; at the news of which his uncle *Rokyzan*, hastening with all speed to the prison, lamented over him in these words: “ *O my dear Gregory, I wish to God I was where thou art!*”

These words gave the Brethren reason to believe he was not yet quite devoid of grace; which, after they had again

* So the Waldenses from France were named; either from the principal district of their residence, *Picardy*, or from a certain *Begbard*, charged with the abomination of the Adamites.

obtained rest, caused them to address themselves to him with the request, that, as the first divine of the kingdom, in whom the states had reposed the care and concern for the salvation of the Bohemians, he would be pleased to engage in a true reformation; or, if this were as yet impracticable, that he would, to obviate the appearance of any schism, at least, take upon himself the direction of their affairs. He gave them a courteous answer, acknowledged their cause to be good and laudable; but believed, that, in such dregs of time, when all goodness was slandered, his credit and counsel would be of little avail to them, but might prove a detriment to him, and draw upon him the indignation of the world. When they, therefore, had seen, by more such fruitless attempts, that he *loved the praise of men more than the praise of God*; they, at length, gave him quite up, lest they might fall with him into the ditch, with these awful words in their farewell-letter, “*Thou art of the world, and wilt perish with the world.*” This enraged him to such a degree, that he incensed the king against them afresh. But the bishop of Breslaw dissuaded him from the bloody persecution, saying, that “*maggots grow in meat half-roasted.*” He meant, that martyrdom increases the number of heretics. Therefore, he only ordered them to be sought after, and driven out of the country. This obliged them to conceal themselves in mountains and woods; in which solitude and wilderness it was, that, after they had given up all hopes of a thorough reformation, they were intent upon settling a Christian church-discipline among themselves, and providing faithful ministers and overseers.

§ II.

To this end they first chose out of their own number, by a majority of votes, certain elders, to whom they committed the management and direction of all their affairs, and solemnly engaged to be in all things obedient to them.

them. These, as exigencies required, invited the most considerable among the Brethren dispersed in Bohemia and Moravia to come to them; and in several synods agreed upon certain statutes respecting their behaviour and conduct towards each other, towards other men, and towards the supreme and inferior magistrates. They regulated the divine service, appointed days of fasting and prayer, and conferred mutually concerning the doctrine of, and regulations in, their congregations. But they were, in a particular manner, not a little embarrassed and concerned about the ministerial office, and its succession, in case the ministers they now had from the Calixtines should become extinct, and none, out of love to the truth, join them afresh. This subject was treated particularly at the celebrated synod of *Lbota* in 1467. Here they came to a resolution of supplying the ministerial office out of their own number. They first chose twenty, and out of these, nine persons, of whom they would appoint three by lot for the ministry. Therefore they wrote the word *EST*, *It is he*, (*viz.* whom the Lord chooses) upon three slips of paper, and left nine of the same, blanks. They prayed in simplicity, that God, should he please to appoint them none as yet, or, peradventure, none of these nine persons, for ministers, would cause all the nine persons to draw the nine blanks; and, in case he should have appointed one, or two, or three, to this end, he would condescend to signify which they were, by the inscribed slips of paper. Hereupon they called in a little boy, who was to give into the hands of each of the nine Brethren one of the twelve slips of paper, which had been mixed together. The three inscribed with *EST* fell to *Matthias of Kunewald*, *Thomas of Prschelauz*, and *Elias of Krschenow*. These were received by all the Brethren with joy and songs of praise, as teachers given them of God; to whom they also promised faithful obedience, by giving them their hands, and by the kiss of peace.

§ 12.

SOON after, at another synod, they discussed the question, Whether an ordination made by a presbyter without a bishop was valid, or not? And, from the account given us by *Regenvolscius*, they decided it in this manner. According to the example of the apostles, there was no difference between the elders or presbyters, and the bishops; but, in Jerom's opinion, the divisions arising from the presbyters attaching themselves to him who ordained them, more than to the rest, gave rise to an unanimous determination of placing one presbyter over all the rest, in order to prevent an attachment to one or another, from whence parties might arise; consequently, that they could be satisfied with ministers who were only ordained by presbyters. However, to put it out of the adversaries power to dispute the validity of their office, they would seek to obtain an episcopal ordination.

Now, as the Waldenses traced the succession of their bishops from the apostolic times, they dispatched three of their priests already ordained (amongst whom *Michael of Zamberg* is mentioned) into Austria, to *Stephen*, bishop of the Waldenses; who, rejoiced at the account of the Brethren's emigration and regulations, laid before them, in presence of the elders, the rise and progress, the various vicissitudes, and the episcopal succession of the Waldenses, and consecrated them, with the assistance of his co-bishop and the rest of the clergy, bishops of the Brethren's church. These, on their return, at another synod, ordained presbyters; first, the three men chosen by lot, and then one of them, viz. *Matthias of Kunewald*, a fourth bishop, appointing ten co-bishops or con-seniors from amongst the rest of the presbyters.

§ 13.

THEY, moreover, took it into consideration, whether they should not unite, and make one church, with the
Waldenses,

Waldenses, with the purity of whose doctrine, and piety of life, they were well pleased? Against this they had only one scruple remaining, which was, that the Waldenses did not make an open confession of the truth, and, to avoid persecution, conformed to some ceremonies which they acknowledged to be wrong. They sent a new deputation to admonish them on this account, and then to offer them their fellowship. The bishops and elders of the Waldenses owned and confessed their declension from the purity of their fathers, promised amendment, and embraced their offer of church-fellowship with joy. A rare example of a community, which, by manifold deviations, was tending towards its destruction, confessing their faults, and accepting the assistance proffered them! But, before this union could be effected, the design was betrayed by the means of some who had no mind for an amendment. This gave occasion to a violent persecution, during which many, and among them their last bishop *Stephen*, were burnt alive. The rest were scattered abroad, and fled, mostly, to their Brethren in the margraviate of Brandenburg. From these parts a weaver was come into Bohemia some years before, and had been received into the Brethren's church. Upon his return, he gave the rest of the Waldenses an account of the Brethren. When, therefore, in the year 1480, a great persecution arose even here; both these, and the other Waldensian refugees out of Austria, retreated to the Brethren in the territory of Landskron and Lititz, and some to *Fulneck* in Moravia*, whereby their churches obtained the first considerable increase.

Both this reception and the ordination caused the Brethren to be denominated *Waldenses*, which name they, how-

* It seems as if *Fulneck* in Moravia, as well as *Lititz* and the lordship of *Landskron* in Bohemia, was a chief seat of the Brethren. And the present Brethren from Moravia come from villages about *Fulneck*, where *Comenius* was minister; in the same manner as the Bohemians sprang mostly from the territory of *Landskron*.

ever, carefully declined in their apologies, for several reasons alleged in the history of the Bohemian persecution.

§ 14.

No sooner was the rumour spread abroad of the Brethren's having now obtained their own ministry, and the episcopal ordination; but, at Rokyzan's instigation, at the diet in 1468, a bloody edict was issued out against them, and read from all the pulpits; wherein they were declared out-laws, and an injunction laid upon the states of each district, to take up and punish the Picards at pleasure. During this persecution, in which *Michael*, their first bishop, was put in prison, where he was kept till the death of the king; the yet surviving Brethren saw themselves under the necessity of keeping close, retreating into the thickest woods, and (to escape being detected even there) of hiding by day in the holes and clefts of the rocks. To prevent their being discovered by the smoke, they made no fire but by night, at which they read their bibles, and prayed. When it had snowed hard, and they were forced to go out through the deep snow in quest of their support, they went one behind the other, and the last dragged a bush after him in order to fill up and hide the track. From these caves and pits they got afterwards the nick-name of *Jamnici*, or *Grubenheimer* (in German), that is, persons who dwelt in caves.

The more they sought to refute their adversaries, and to bring them into a better way of thinking, by apologies addressed to the consistory, to the king, and at length to all the states; the more were these irritated and incensed to continue the persecution, till God himself put a period to it in 1471, by the death of king Podiebrad, and the end of Rokyzan, who died in despair.

§ 15.

UNDER their new king *Uladislaus* from Poland, they, for the most part, enjoyed peace. The adversaries, indeed, attempted at the very beginning to incense him against the Brethren; but their apologies had so good an effect upon this gracious sovereign, that he left them undisturbed. Therefore, in 1476, the adversaries planned their attack in another way, by stirring up the people to sedition, and thereby forcing the king to a persecution. A wicked wretch was suborned to give out that, having been a senior, or elder, among the Picards, but separated from them by remorse of conscience, and returned to the orthodox church, he would now, as an evidence of the reality of his conversion, detect their mystery of iniquity. That they, for instance, uttered in their private meetings not only erroneous, but blasphemous things, vilified the sacraments, practised impurities and forcery, and assassinated people, in order to seize upon their substance, whereby they had amassed a great treasure.

Now, as books were not yet printed in those days, they carried this man about into the churches in many cities, where he was obliged to do penance, under a solemn show of sanctity, relate those errors and abominations, recommend himself to the intercession of the faithful, and warn them against all intercourse with the Picards. And where they could not bring him, there they sent depositions signed and sealed by many witnesses, and ordered them, together with an annexed paternal warning of the most considerable ministers, to be read from the pulpits; insomuch, that now no apologies of the Brethren made any farther impression, and they awaited with resignation the most furious persecution of the people; when this fellow, wearied out with being thus dragged about, confessed, that he had suffered himself to be over-persuaded and bribed into this calumny of the Picards, of whom he knew nothing at all.

In

In the mean time, some persons of sense, who were desirous of coming at the truth of the affair, had privately visited the meetings of the Brethren, and, finding the direct contrary of what was given out, joined their community. Thus, when the adversaries saw, that, by this flagrant imposition, they had done the Brethren more good than harm, they, thinking to trepan them in a more subtle way, appointed, in 1479, under the pretext of an union, a conference with them in the *Caroline College* at Prague, the issue of which, however, was fruitless.

§ 16.

YET did they not let their courage sink. In 1481, the Brethren were banished Moravia, which, together with Lusatia and Silesia, *Matthias*, king of Hungary, had seized upon at the decease of Podiebrad. Many of them, under the conduct of *Nicholas Slansky*, one of their ministers, who was followed, two years after, by the con-senior *Elias Krschenowsky*, or of *Krschenow*, (§ 11.) emigrated through Hungary and Transilvania into Moldavia, where they met with a kind reception from the hospodar *Stephen*; but, upon the calm that ensued in Moravia, they, through a disgust at the savageness and superstitious customs of the Moldavians, returned after six years to their own country.

Not one of the writers of the Bohemian Brethren's history gives us any farther account of these exiles. Yet Henry Milde, in an Observation on Dr. Luther's Lesser Catechism, p. 75. acquaints us, that the late *Balthazar Frank*, minister of the Lutheran church at *Moscow*, on his second visit to the Lutherans in the kingdoms of *Casan* and *Astracan*, in the company of *Justus Samuel Schaarschmidt* of *Quedlinburg*, in the year 1709, crossed the Caspian sea, and arrived at the city of *Terek*, not far from the mountains of *Caucasus*; "on which mountains (to render his words from the Latin) the posterity of the Bohemian Brethren, who, during the time of the persecution in 1488 (or rather 1481), had come thither

“ thither by way of Hungary, Transilvania, Moldavia,
 “ and the Turkish empire, have built three very large
 “ villages.” Now Camerarius relates, that the Brethren,
 having seen that they could not prove a blessing to the savage
 inhabitants, and king Matthias, on conviction of their inno-
 cency, having recalled them, came back to Moravia; and
 that, a few years after, Moldavia, and especially the places
 where the Brethren had dwelt, were laid waste by the
 barbarians, and many persons carried into captivity. On
 the supposition that not all the Brethren returned at once
 into Moravia, but waited to be first ascertained, whether
 the toleration offered them by Matthias was to be depended
 upon, or not? and if we add what several Moravian
 Brethren, who are yet living, have heard from their fa-
 thers, viz. that many of their ancestors having fled into
 Moldavia, part of them came back, but part went into
 Asia, and it is not known what became of them: we may,
 then, throw some light upon the account concerning the
 Bohemians on the mountains of Caucasus, thus: that the
 Tartars, having met with some remains of the Brethren
 in Moldavia, led them away prisoners, and granted them
 a district on the mountains, where they might settle*.

§ 17.

AMIDST the troubles of war in Moravia, the Brethren
 in Bohemia had a calm for a season. *Neglecti sunt miseri
 fratres*, says Regenvolscius, lib. ii. cap. 8. (that is, *The
 poor Brethren were neglected*) But an unfortunate schism
 among themselves, from whence sprang afterwards the
 Anabaptists in Moravia and Hungary, brought a new per-

* The Brethren have lately obtained several particulars con-
 cerning these *Tschechs* at mount Caucasus, as they call themselves
 (and thus all the Bohemians call themselves too;) but cannot com-
 municate them, until they shall be better convinced of their
 authenticity.

secution upon them. For, whereas these who maintained, that a christian could not, with a good conscience, discharge the functions of a magistrate, and wield the sword; in the heat of the controversy, inadvertently and ignorantly charged the rest of the Brethren with the holding it no sin to defend themselves by open force of arms; the adversaries, laying hold on this groundless insinuation, persuaded the king in 1503, that it was his incumbent duty to extirpate these fomentors of rebellion, who would, otherwise, soon be acting Ziska's part over again. Many of the states, however, protested against it, avowing the Brethren's innocence, and their own regret to banish and massacre the best of their subjects. Nevertheless, the adversaries, after the Brethren's patrons were set out from the diet, got the edict to be signed. But the king, by their apology, was again induced to another way of thinking, and formed a resolution of bringing about an union between them and the Calixtines, by means of a public conference with the university and the consistory of Prague. But, as a great number of people desired to be present, to whom the antagonists, should they be foiled, did not like to expose themselves; this discussion was first put off from time to time, and afterwards, under various pretences, entirely dropped.

§ 18.

THE adversaries, however, tho' they had no hopes of convicting the Brethren of error in an open conference, were not quiet. For, partly by all sorts of slanders, partly by the proffer of a large loan, and partly by tampering with the queen, whom, in case of her not complying with their desire, they had terrified with the judgments of God, and, she being pregnant, with an unfortunate labour, they wrought so upon the king, that in 1506 he set his sign manual to a new and severe edict; at the signing of which, they say, the king prayed to God, in his private apartment, for forgiveness,

giveness, and that he would bring these bloody devices against innocent persons to nought. His prayer was heard. For the execution of this edict was stopped by the queen's unfortunate delivery, when king *Lewis*, who proved afterwards so unhappy, was obliged to be cut out of her womb; and her blood-thirsty counsellors, who, at the convention of all the states, *sub una et sub utraque**, in 1508, attempted to obtrude this edict, as a fundamental statute of the empire, but to no purpose; yet in 1510, by all the arts of knavery, had it registered; came soon afterwards to a dreadful end.

§ 19.

ALTHOUGH, amidst these persecutions, many were intimidated, and fell off; yet more were driven away, and put to death, or perished in prisons, and in extreme distress. The congregations of the Brethren, however, were hereby not diminished, but spread the more; insomuch that, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, they counted already two hundred Brethren's congregations in Bohemia and Moravia. About this time also many learned men and priests of the Calixtines, and several counts, barons, and some of the noblesse joined them†, who in their cities and villages built them meeting-houses, because the Calixtines were in possession of all the churches, and cramped the Brethren every where. They, moreover, took care to have the bible translated into the Bohemian tongue, and printed at *Venice*; in which, as *Comenius* writes, they were again the first amongst all the

* Both of those who received the communion in the manner of the church of Rome, and of these who received it in both kinds. (The Editor.)

† How they came upon this, and what their inducement was, they themselves acquaint us in the preface to their confession, presented to the emperor in 1535: which may be seen in the second Volume of the *Buedingen Collections of certain Pieces relating to Church-History*, p. 594—630. together with a parallel drawn between them and the present Brethren.

other nations of Europe. And, because the copies met with a quick sale, they procured two new editions of it to be printed at Nuernberg ; till they had set up three printing-presses of their own, at *Prague*, at *Bunzlau* in Bohemia, and at *Kralitz* in Moravia, where in the beginning they printed nothing else but Bohemian bibles.

With this bible, which was a translation of the Vulgate, they contented themselves for an hundred years ; until, at the expence of baron *Sherotin*, and under the inspection of bishop *John Aeneas* and his assistants, a new translation from the original text could be undertaken ; which was published in six parts, from the year 1579 to 1593 ; and having been revised and furnished with useful annotations by bishop *Zacharias Arifon*, passed a second edition.

§ 20.

THE most and the fiercest persecutions arose from the Calixtines ; who, excepting the cup at the communion, seem to have been but little different from the Romish church. For, after the death of *Rokyzan*, they sent their priests for ordination into Italy, where they were forced to act the hypocrite in a scandalous manner, giving themselves out for Romish clergy, and to renounce the *Compactata**.

The cause of this hatred was, that the Brethren had separated from them, and, by a purer doctrine and form of worship, supported by a better life, put them to shame ; that they constituted separate congregations ; had their own ministry, and would neither be in subjection to, nor unite with, them. For the king, being intent upon bringing about a religious peace between the Roman Catholics and the Calixtines, when the latter were to have the *compactata*

* For some time two bishops from Italy, who had retired into Bohemia, ordained their priests. Afterwards, some, who could not act the hypocrite so flagrantly, travelled even into Armenia, where they obtained ordination.

and church-privileges confirmed to them by the pope ; it was put off from time to time, under pretence of discord reigning among the Bohemians themselves, and because they tolerated the *Waldenses* or *Picards* among them. Therefore they endeavoured to draw the Brethren over to their party by mild treaties and conferences ; and, when they could effect nothing in this way, to compel them to it by coercive measures, or even to extirpate them. To obtain their end, they, amongst other means, made use of the writings of their adversaries, all of which were grounded on an inquisition, set up against the Brethren at *Glatz* in 1480 ; wherein the adversaries had either misunderstood, or wrested and perverted their expressions. The Brethren had, for instance, answered, that the modes of worship might be different, provided they were not against the rules given us by Christ and his Apostles ; and that they would then prove no hindrance to our salvation. Thus, they drew this conclusion from it, The Brethren believe that all heretics may be saved. Again they had said, that we must be patient under sufferings, and not resist evil, even though the Turks inflicted it upon us. Therefore, said the adversaries, the Brethren look upon the war against the Turks to be sin, &c. Would they screen themselves under apologies, and submit to an examination ; it was then asserted, that the *Waldenses* and *Picards*, whose doctrine they had adopted, had been long ago condemned : that they themselves had been examined, and found erroneous, what further need had they of witnesses ? had they it not out of their own mouths ?

§ 21.

THUS were the Brethren forced to submit to every kind of sufferings, as they could not avoid it, without giving up the truth in some degree, and intermixing with a corrupt promiscuous multitude, to their own detriment.

But as they would, nevertheless, have gladly avoided the appearance of a schism from other churches; therefore, in 1474, supported by their worldly patrons, and especially baron *Postupitz*, they sent four deputies with a passport from the king, to examine into the state of christendom; in order to see if there were any where a living church to be met with, free from errors and superstition, and regulated according to Christ's plan and rule, with which they might unite? The co-bishop *Lucas* went into Greece and Dalmatia; *Maurus Kokowetz* into Moscovia, Scythia, and other Sclavonian countries; *Martin Kabatnik* into Palestine and Egypt; and *Caspar Marchicus* to Constantinople and into Thrace. These being returned, and having no where found what they sought, they, in the same view, sent in 1489 the co-bishop *Lucas* and *Thomas Germanus* to Rome, and into Italy and France. These, it is true, met with many souls sighing in stillness, especially the Waldenses, and saw several burnt alive for the truth; but found no where a congregation which they could join, to avoid all appearance of a schism. They, therefore, formed at a synod the well-known conclusion, "That, if God should, any where in
 " the world, awaken genuine ministers, and reformers of
 " the church, they would make a common cause with
 " them."

§ 22.

Now, when *Erasmus* of Rotterdam; whose aim was at least to bring about a reformation in literature and school-divinity, began to be celebrated; they in 1511 sent him the confession which they had presented in the year 1508 to king *Uladislaus*, with a request to examine it, and, either, to teach them better, or, should he find it consistent with the word of God, to befriend them with his testimony. He approved of it, and advised them to carry on their cause in stillness, as hitherto: but excused himself, on account of the

the multiplicity of his occupations, from such an examination of it, as it required ; alledging withal, that by his testimony, instead of delivering *them* from the imputation of error in the opinion of their adversaries, he should only endanger himself, and render his own writings suspected, which were read with benefit by many.

Now, though Erasmus made a scruple of giving the Brethren a public testimony, which might probably have been but of little use to them ; yet he, occasionally, described them to their advantage ; especially in his preface to the New Testament, and in a candid answer to John Schlechta, who had given him an horrible picture of the Brethren.

§ 23.

DURING this period many among the Brethren were of opinion, that, in order to ward off the objection of a schism, and the imputation, as if they looked upon themselves to be the only church in which salvation was to be obtained ; and at length to put an end to the persecutions ; they might, without scruple, comply with the king's command, in uniting with the Calixtines : because there were, however, faithful ministers among them, who preached the word of God in its sincerity and purity, lived as christians, and were well disposed towards the Brethren. They also hoped by this means to gain an entrance among them, and to have an opportunity of leading many simple, upright souls farther into the knowledge of the gospel. But, since their eldest and most experienced ministers, who had been persecuted and banished by the Calixtines on account of the purity of their doctrine, apprehended that the love of their own members might wax cold, the discipline of the church decline, and the ruin of their congregations ensue from thence ; they deliberated upon this proposal at the synod in 1486, and came to this decision in full synod ; which, because it is,

at once, a specimen both of their love of peace, and of their abhorrence of an hypocritical syncretism, (indifference in matters of religion) I will here quote somewhat more circumstantially from Lasitius's Third Book :

“ If a minister be found in any other church, of pure doctrine and good morals, the faithful ought to thank God for it ; yet not to join, or receive the sacraments from, him, for the following reasons : 1. Because there is danger in uniting with a church, which has been forsaken on account of its errors and abuses. 2. Because it may happen that this good minister may, at his death, not be succeeded by one of the same stamp. 3. Because such as leave their church, are under no proper rule in a community, where some direct, and others obey, but all remain in the unity of the spirit and of the body of Christ. 4. Because the faithful, who, by God's grace, have the spiritual blessings in abundance at home, cannot, without hazard, go in quest of them among strangers.”

“ But, in case there be many ministers in another church, who by right and good order are united among themselves, and feed the flock intrusted to their care with the pure word of God ; the faithful should by no means despise them ; yet they ought not to leave their own church-fellowship, and join them : but the elders of the church are to see, whether, in any way, they may be able to unite with them in one body. For in the church of Christ *all things must be done decently and in order.* 1 Cor. xiv. 40.”

“ Should the elders find them excelling us in the necessary fundamental articles of the Christian religion, we ought to submit ourselves to, and learn of them. If they do not excel us ; yet we are not to disdain and revile them, inasmuch as they possess the knowledge of the truth, and stand upon a sure foundation. But neither are we to join them, on account of defects, unknown to
“ them,

“ them, but known to us; lest, through them, the purity of
“ the doctrine amongst us, might be tainted. But yet, we
“ ought to serve them in a brotherly manner, that they
“ may come to a clearer knowledge of the light.”

“ Finally, we confess, that no collective body of people,
“ how numerous soever, can be denominated, The Catholic
“ (universal) church; that is, such as comprehends in it-
“ self the entire number of the faithful, so, as if God had
“ none of his elect out of it. But, where the only, Catho-
“ lic, Christian faith is found in truth, as described by
“ God in his word, in any part of Christendom, there is
“ the holy Catholic church, out of the fellowship of which
“ there is no hope of salvation.”

THE
ANCIENT HISTORY
OF THE
BRETHREN.

PART III.

The Negotiations of the Brethren with the Reformers and their Successors; and their Spread in Prussia and Poland.

§ 24.

PRECISELY one hundred years after the death of Hufs, God raised up *Luther* in Germany, for the reformation of the church*. The Brethren, rejoiced at it, sent *John Horn* and *Michael Weifs* in 1523 to him, to congratulate him on the reformation, and to give him an account of their doctrine and constitution. He was hereby greatly encouraged, as he testifies in a letter to *Spalatin* and *Paul Speratus*. Though he had been prejudiced against them; yet, after a perusal of their writings, he was quite of ano-

* Comenius, in his history, § 73, makes the following observation upon Luther's reformation: "About an hundred years after the decease of John Hufs, the prophecy of that holy martyr was fulfilled;" which, as he relates, was, "*An hundred years hence ye shall answer this unto God and me.*"

ther mind, and declared it publicly. This friendship met with some interruption, after the second deputation in 1524, when the Brethren conferred with him concerning the church-discipline, which ought to be introduced, to the want of which they attributed the withdrawing of many insincere people from their community, under the pretext that they could enjoy the gospel without any such close discipline. Then it was that Luther found sundry faults with them. But upon sending him their confession of faith, presented in 1532 to margrave *George of Brandenburg*, king *Lewis's* guardian; he had it printed in 1533 with a fine testimony; in which he plainly declares, that all his jealousy had subsided; and that they, notwithstanding the diversity of their church-usages, ceremonies, and expressions, belonged to one sheepfold. "For though I (writes he) do not know how to adopt the Brethren's way of expressing themselves: yet I will not over-hurry, or compel them to adopt mine; if we otherwise be and remain unanimous in the matter itself, &c." He also, in conjunction with Melanchton, in 1535 wrote to them, amongst other things, thus, "Since we are agreed in the principal articles of the Christian doctrine, let us receive one another in love; nor shall any difference of usages and ceremonies disunite our hearts." This in 1536 gave occasion to the third deputation to him, in order to treat with him about the introduction of a better church-discipline; which, however, according to his opinion, was not practicable at that time; when, to use his own expression, matters were still too raw, and he himself was too much overcharged with business, especially with the controversy against his antagonists.

Concerning this deputation, I find, in a manuscript marginal note to Regenvolscius (*L. 1. c. xi. p. 57.*) in our archives, and an apology of the Brethren against *Martinus*, the following anecdote. Many evil reports of the Protestants in Germany and Switzerland had, since the last deputation in 1524, found their way into Bohemia. The Brethren,

Brethren, not chusing to give credit to them upon hearsay only, sent deputies into Germany and Switzerland to see every thing with their own eyes, and report how they found it. They staid a month at Wittenberg, in conference with Luther and Melanchton concerning church-discipline. Luther praised it, and exhorted them to maintain it. "I was" (said he) "under a necessity of pulling down the church-order which has obtained hitherto; because people have trusted in it: but I shall be extremely glad to set up another, lest the church be rent in pieces, but that it may be built up." When the Brethren lamented before him, that they, on account of their church-order and discipline, were slandered and vilified, as if they were sectarians and monks, he rejoined, "That they should not mind it: the world would always be foolish. Should *he* introduce such an order, the world would say the very same; the world ever had, and ever would have, some exceptions to make, &c."

In the year 1540 they dispatched their senior *John Augusta* to him; who, in company with *George Israel*, visited him for the last time in 1542, in order to confer with him about the introduction of a better church-discipline, for which other divines expressed a great desire. He owned the want and necessity of it, promising that, as soon as the state of the church should become more calm, he would set about it in good earnest*. When they took leave, in presence of the rest of the professors, he gave them the right hand of brotherhood, with these words, "Be ye apostles of the Bohemians: I and mine will be apostles of the Germans, &c." He also wrote to *John Augusta* not long after, "I exhort you in the Lord to persevere with us unto

* "But he, soon after, departed this life, leaving this important branch of the reformation in the hands of his successors; which was at last, amidst the wrangles which followed, either forgotten, or exclaimed against as needless and pernicious;" as *Salig* attests in the 2d Part, Book VI. Chap. iii.

“ the end in the fellowship of the spirit and of doctrine, &c.” To say nothing, for brevity’s sake, of other testimonies, which may be seen in *Lafitius* and *Comenius*, and in *Salig’s History of the Confession of Augsburg*. (See also the *Buedingen Collection*, Vol. III. p. 568, *et seq.*)

§ 25.

WHILE these treaties were in agitation, the Waldenses in France had sent a deputation to the Brethren in Bohemia, to bewail unto them their pressures from without, and variances within ; to beg counsel and comfort from, and renew fellowship with, them ; which the Brethren, having examined their doctrine, complied with, admitting also these deputies, during their six months residence among them, to the holy communion. In the mean time the fame of the Brethren had reached even as far as *Straßburg* ; from whence *Fabricius Capito* in 1533, and *Martin Bucer* in 1540, wrote letters to them, in order to make enquiry into their church-discipline. They, therefore, sent *Matthias Erythreus* to communicate to them an account of their doctrine and regulations, which delighted them to such a degree, that Bucer burst into tears, in presence of the other divines of *Straßburg*, and, amongst other testimonies, wrote to the Brethren as follows : “ I believe ye are the only people at this day, who, together with a pure doctrine, exercise a genuine and well-adapted discipline, which is not grievous, but profitable.”

It was here that *John Calvin*, then minister of the church of the French refugees at *Straßburg*, became acquainted with them ; who, besides others of his colleagues, kept up a pretty constant epistolary correspondence with them, and, at the reformation of the church of Geneva, is said to have introduced several of their church-orders.

Thus were the Brethren led into an acquaintance and correspondence with both the great leaders of the reformation,

tion, without taking any part in their disputes, and thereby forfeiting their own jewel of a pure doctrine and apostolic church-discipline. They were loved and praised by them and their colleagues, and often set before their congregations, with great lamentations, and to their humiliation, as a pattern to them. Thus the reformers, without attacking the Brethren about their difference from them in non-essentials, or requiring an entire union with them, solicited and exhorted them to a communion in spirit with them and their followers.

§ 26.

HOWEVER, this very acquaintance drew another persecution upon them. For, when the Bohemians, in the Smalcaldic war, which broke out shortly after the death of *Luther* in 1546, refused to support the emperor *Charles V.* and their king *Ferdinand* against the Protestants; and, on that account, were accused of rebellion: the Brethren, in particular, were charged with having, by their frequent deputations to, and correspondence with, *Luther*, endeavoured to set the elector of Saxony upon the throne of Bohemia. On this account, the aforesaid *John Augusta*, with others, was committed to prison, and racked three times, to force a confession out of him; nor was he discharged from his confinement till sixteen years afterwards, on *Ferdinand's* death. The churches in some lordships were shut up, the ministers either taken up, or scattered, and the people commanded to join either the Romish church, or the *Calixtines*; or, in case of refusal, to quit the country within six weeks. Many lost all courage, and joined the *Calixtines*. Most of them emigrated, under the conduct of their bishop *Matthias Syon*, into Poland; and, being driven from thence likewise, into Prussia. Duke *Albert*, who had formerly offered them his country, gave them a ready reception; but, as some wanted to render them suspected as to their doctrine,

doctrine, he ordered them to pass an examination before five ministers. Upon their finding the Brethren's doctrine and confession of faith harmonious with the confession of Augsburg; a diploma was issued, dated the 19th of March 1549, whereby they were to enjoy the same civil privileges with other subjects, even though they retained their own church-discipline. The places allotted for their residence were Marienwerder, Neidenburg, Gardensee, Hohenstein, Gilgenburg, Soldau, and Königsberg.

The celebrated *Paul Speratus*, bishop of Pomesania, was very serviceable to them in this respect, and all true and worthy ministers rejoiced at their reception; so, that *Anthony Bodenstein*, minister at Marienwerder, where most of the Brethren had settled, at the close of an excellent testimony, wrote thus to Dr. *Brentius*: "I judge that this holy people
" has been sent hither by God himself, that, through them,
" others may be stirred up to enter into a more mature de-
" liberation, how a remedy may be found out for the many
" faults and defects in our church."

§ 27.

PRUSSIA was, at that time, brought into the utmost confusion by the debates set on foot by *Osiander*. The Brethren, it is true, kept themselves entirely out of them; but were, nevertheless, obliged, by command of the duke, to confer several times with *Osiander*, and deliver their sentiments upon it; which they did in a simple, plain, and impartial manner, importing that things of that nature ought not to be discussed, to the scandal of the whole church, in public controversial writings, but decided at a synod by discreet and pious men: and that, whoever would, afterwards, obstinately persist in his own opinion, against him the discipline of the church should be exercised. This had been the practice of the primitive church, and it was also their's.

However,

However, the Brethren were not suffered to remain entirely at rest. For when bishop *Laurentius* in 1561 came to *Thorn* at his visitation, he was questioned by the Lutheran minister there, *Benedict Morgenstern*, a turbulent man; who, on account of the debates with *Osiander*, had first been expelled the duchy of Prussia, and afterwards the city of *Dantzick* *: Why the Brethren in that place, who pretended to agree to the Augustan confession, did not attend the Lutheran worship? He answered, “On account of the want of “due discipline and order;” but promised, notwithstanding, to make his report to the Brethren. They, in consideration of the fellowship they had entered into with *Luther*, out of love to peace, and to avoid giving offence, disposed the Brethren at *Thorn* to attend the service of the ministers there, provided these, as far as were practicable, observed good discipline. They, moreover, sent *Laurentius*, together with some other deputies, in 1563, once more to *Thorn*; who, having before the whole council evinced the Brethren’s innocence against *Morgenstern*, resigned their Brethren there to the Lutheran ministry. But as *Morgenstern*, chagrined at being convicted of injustice, still went on to preach and write against the Brethren; those who adhered to the Brethren left *Thorn* entirely; and *Morgenstern*, on account of other disturbances, was deposed and expelled by the magistracy of *Thorn*: but went on writing, and incensing the Lutheran congregations in Poland against the Brethren †, as will be seen hereafter.

But

* *Lasitius* writes Lib. VI. that *Flacius Illyricus*, who began a controversy with the divines at Wittenberg, and drew many congregations over to his side, attempted by his emissaries to gain the Brethren in Poland likewise to his party. But that he, having met with a reprimand from them on account of his quarrels, became their enemy, and took pains to incense the Poles against them: That he succeeded with some of them in Prussia, and particularly with *Morgenstern*.

† Almost at this very time, in 1580, two antagonists of the Brethren appeared in Moravia, viz. Dr. *John Hederich*, Lutheran minister

But, upon the death of duke Albert of Prussia, a new body of divinity having been drawn up, and the Brethren being urged not only to subscribe to it, but also to abandon their own Bohemian pastors, their church-discipline and usages, and thus to renounce the Unity of the Brethren in Bohemia and Moravia, or else, to quit the country ; most of them chose the last, and emigrated in 1574 partly to Great Poland, and partly back again into their own country, Moravia ; where the Brethren in 1566, by the advice of *Crato de Kraftheim*, physician to the emperor Maximilian II. to whom the Brethren had been recommended by him, as a church coming nearest to that of the apostles, had presented to the emperor their confession of faith, and their hymn-book, and obtained liberty of conscience.

§ 28.

BUT before we return to the Brethren in Moravia, we should see how the remnant of them in Poland were spread abroad ; and how the Reformed first, at several synods, and afterwards the Lutherans too, came to an agreement with them in the celebrated *Consensus Sendomiriensis*. (Synodal Agreement of Sendomir.)

Various preparations towards a reformation had been made in Poland as early as the year 1440, by means of the refugees of the Hussites from Bohemia, and afterwards by the Polish students, who studied under *Melanchton* ; when the Brethren, that were expelled Bohemia, made in 1548

minister at Iglau, and *Paul Kirmezes*, the minister of the reformed congregation at Hunnobrod. Both were deposed on account of other irregularities, and the latter retreated to the Brethren, asked their pardon, and was, as a reconciled enemy, maintained by them with much affection until his end.

In the Buedingen Collection III. p. 559, an extract of Hederich's Preface is to be found, being the marrow of his whole work.

Great Poland their asylum; and, although they were at that time forced to move farther, yet left a seed behind them. At the same time, several men of learning, who had studied under the famous *Trotzendorf* of Goldberg in Silesia, propagated the Lutheran doctrine chiefly in Polish Prussia; as others did that of the Reformed, principally in Little Poland. Almost all the nobility embraced the Protestant doctrine. The king himself was inclined to a thorough reformation, and had no other objections, than such as arose from the controversies of the Protestants among themselves, and from the Arian disturbances.

The Brethren, in passing through Poland, had left a little congregation at Posenania; which the castellan, count de *Ostrog*, joined in the very hour, in which he intended to drive his lady out of the meeting with a whip. This very nobleman, in 1551, applied to the Brethren in Prussia for a minister, and obtained *George Israel*, afterwards president of the synod; who in a short time gathered forty congregations in Poland*, in which were many of the grandees. *Felix Cruciger*, superintendent of the Reformed in Little Poland, who neither could nor would any longer oppose the spreading of the Brethren, entered twice into conference with this *George Israel*, in order to settle the differences subsisting between them, and to carry on the work of the Lord in fellowship. Upon this ensued the first general synod of the Protestants at *Cosminiec* in 1555; at which, in presence of several waywods from Great and Little Poland, and an embassy of the duke of Prussia, the confession of the Bohemian Brethren, their church-discipline, and other writings were read, examined, approved, and a coalition of both parties was formed and ratified by their giving each

* According to *Regenvolscius*, (l. i. c. xiv.) they very soon spread farther still; and, besides those in Poland and Lithuania, had many congregations in Polish Prussia, Cassubia, and Silesia; and in many places, court-chaplains and head-masters of schools were called from among them.

other the right hand of fellowship, and this agreement sealed by their partaking together of the holy communion.

§ 29.

OF this the Reformed apprized the divines in Switzerland, who, being uncommonly pleased with the news, exhorted them to continue in this union, and particularly, as *Musculus* of *Bern* expresses himself, to make good use of the simple manner of teaching, and the excellent order and discipline of the Brethren. But this union met very soon with difficulties. The secret Arians, who desired to be included in this agreement, in order that they might be protected, and thereby be the better able secretly to spread their poison, wanted several articles of doctrine and usages of the Brethren to be altered. But, not succeeding, they sought to render the Brethren suspected by the Swiss divines. Even old *John à Lasco* *, a man approved under many a cross, retarded the union for a while. He would not only have some ceremonies at the Lord's supper altered, according to the standard of his late reformed congregations in England; but he also demanded of the Brethren a more explicit and nice explanation of the Lord's supper. Calvin likewise urged a more

* He was born in 1499 of a noble family in Poland, studied in France, Italy and Germany, favoured the reformation, and on that account refused a bishopric in Poland. In 1540 he went into Germany and the Netherlands, received in 1542 a vocation to be a minister at Emden, and reformed the churches in East and West Friesland. By archbishop *Cranmer's* invitation, he went in 1549 into England, and became superintendent of the foreign Protestants, and a minister of the church of Austin Friars at London. He assisted in the emendation of the canon law of the church of England. He, together with part of his congregation, were expelled the kingdom by queen Mary; and, having been advised to withdraw, in Denmark and many places of Germany, on account of his calvinistical doctrine, he in 1556 returned into Poland. He died in 1560.

determinate declaration of their mind concerning the way and manner of Christ's corporal presence in the communion. John à Lasco received an injunction from the king against raising fresh disturbances; and the Brethren endeavoured, by means of a deputation, to satisfy Calvin and the rest of the Swiss divines, to whom they had been traduced.

§ 30.

FOR in the year 1557, at the synod of the Brethren at *Slezanj*, in Moravia, many grandees from Poland having appeared, and desired a closer coalition of the Brethren with the adherents of the Swiss confession, this point was indeed prosecuted at several synods; yet the Brethren in 1560 found it necessary to dispatch, from *Bunzlau* in Bohemia, where their principal residence was at that time, (and on which account they were usually called, The Brethren of Bunzlau) *John Rokita* and *Peter Herbert* to some princes, and to the principal divines in Germany and Switzerland, with a view partly to renew the friendship begun with the reformers, and partly to clear themselves from evil reports, and give foreign divines a better account of their doctrine and regulations, and of the union begun in Poland. These deputies met every where with a very kind reception, especially from duke *Christopher* of Wuertenberg, and the count palatine *Wolfgang* of Deux Ponts; who, in company of many divines, and especially the celebrated *Jacobus Andreas* and *Joannes Brentzius*, had an interview with them at Goepingen. The duke offered them his territory, should they be tolerated nowhere else, and furnished them with recommendatory letters to several Polish grandees. The chancellor *Peter Paul Vergerius*, late legate of the pope in Germany, showed them in particular much love. This great prelate, against whom in his funeral sermon no farther exception was made, than that he had not understood the

controversies; in which, according to Salig's expression, he was a child and a bungler, but he wished to be a perfect man as to the life which is in Christ Jesus; this prelate, according to his own account in the preface to the confession of the Brethren, which he published in 1556 at Tuebingen, was become acquainted with the Brethren's congregations upon his travels in Prussia and Poland, and had admired their unity as well as their doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline, the more, as the frequent controversies of those times had been very offensive to him. He had written glorious testimonies of them to Italy and other places; had given different ideas of them to such as either had known nothing of them, or feared that the Polanders might be corrupted by the doctrine of the Waldenses; and had in particular appeased the emperor *Maximilian*. At last he requested to be received into the Brethren's congregation, and to conclude his life among them; that he might thereby give their ecclesiastical discipline an equal testimony to that which he had given the Protestant church, by his acceding to their pure doctrine. But his design was prevented by his death.

§ 31.

ROKITA, with the letter of the duke to the Polish grantees, returned into Poland; but *Herbert* continued his journey to Heidelberg, Strasburg, and into Switzerland, and conferred with the divines there, in particular with *Bullinger*, *Peter Martyr*, *Musculus*, *Calvin*, *Viret*, and *Theodore Beza*. He, in the name of the Brethren, complained of their severe censures; declaring, that they would not be involved in the controversies about the Lord's supper, and neither could nor would explain themselves about the mode thereof in any clearer manner, than they had hitherto done by simply using the scripture-expressions. The divines testified their satisfaction. *Calvin* especially, in his answer to the Brethren,

endeavoured to apologise for his former letters to the Poles; though he seemed to take amiss the Brethren's too strict conformity to the confession of Augsburg.

In consequence hereof, the affair of the union between the adherents to the Swiss confession in Poland and the Brethren, was continued with renewed zeal, and brought to bear at the synod of *Xians* in the year 1560. Being agreed about the doctrine, a weighty dispute arose about church-order; for some were for forming a better church-discipline out of the scriptures, than the Brethren's; which, in their opinion, still savoured too much of popery, and gave too much power to the clergy. The Brethren would not recede from their discipline; which, as they averred, had not been formed hastily, but, after forty years deliberation, prayer, and severe persecutions, and, having for a century flourished in great blessing, had been commended by many pious divines, because it urged a true change of heart, not admitting any person, without a sufficient examination, to the fellowship of the saints, and to the holy communion. At length, by a majority of votes *, the church-order of the Brethren was accepted, under this restriction, that the congregations in Little Poland should be divided into seven districts, and those in Lithuania into six; and that not only an ecclesiastical, but also a civil *senior* should be set over each district, who was to accompany the ecclesiastical *senior* †,

* Comenius in his history, § 99—103, seems not to be pleased with this synod, because political and carnal wisdom bore the sway at it. And we can hardly view it in any other light, but that this synod proved, in its consequences, very detrimental to the Brethren in Poland; not by the new addition made to their church-constitution, but by their too great encrease, by applying a church-discipline to persons no way fitted for it, and by blending with another constitution, by which they were afterwards swallowed up.

† From this time the bishops of the Brethren in Poland stiled themselves *Seniors*, with a view to obviate the suspicion both of the Catholics and Reformed; making use of the episcopal title solely in their writings addressed to episcopal churches among the Protestants.

or superintendent, on his visitations, to care for the outward concerns of the churches ; and in the congregations, especially at the provincial synods, to be held once a year, to hear the grievances, and adjust differences.

§ 32.

By this union the Brethren rendered themselves suspected to the Lutherans. Their first superintendent, *Erasmus Gliczner*, invited the senior of the Brethren, *George Israel*, to a synod at Posnania in 1567, at which he laid before him certain positions, which *Morgenstern* had taken out of their confession, and pretended to be erroneous, requiring an answer. These positions were partly very trivial, and partly quite congruous with the true Lutheran doctrine. He insisted upon their renouncing their own confession, and exclusively adopting that of Augsburg, which they, however, acknowledged to be orthodox too. Now, as they could not come to an agreement, the affair was in 1568 referred by both parties to the theological faculty at Wittenberg ; who, in their reply, disapproved of the polemical writings of Thorn, and, after the late Dr. Luther's example, maintained, that, notwithstanding the diversity of some expressions and usages, the Bohemian church ought not to be esteemed different from the Lutheran. They only exhorted the Brethren not to confine the true church to *their* constitution, commendable and worthy of imitation as it might be ; nor exclude the members of other Protestant churches from their communion.

Hereupon, *Erasmus Gliczner* invited the Brethren again to a synod held at Posnania, in February 1570, and conferred with them about the harmony of the Augustan and Bohemian confessions. The contest about the Lord's supper between the Lutherans and the Reformed having been adjusted, in a preparatory synod at *Vilna* in Lithuania ; it issued, at length, in the month of April 1570, in the celebrated synod of all the Protestants at Sendomir.

§ 33.

BESIDES the divines, many deputies of the nobility appeared at this synod, amongst whom, *Sborowsky*, waywod of Sendomir, was the president. The principal persons among the divines were, on the part of the Brethren, *Joannes Laurentius*; on behalf of the Augustan confession, *Gliczner*; and on behalf of the Swiss confession, *Gilovius*.

After some fruitless negotiations, during which each party commended their confession as the best, and would have the rest acknowledge it as the only true one, which should be laid as the foundation of their union, setting the others aside; they came to a conclusion, to compile a common Polish confession out of all the three. The Brethren were the first who acquiesced in this proposal, provided only they should not be obliged to give up their own, as the most ancient confession of them all, which had been presented to so many kings; together with their church-discipline, which they had hitherto found so beneficial, and which had been praised and recommended by all the reformers. This was approved by the rest. The Lutherans would not, in the beginning, come into it; but, having been admonished by the grandees, with tears in their eyes, to persist no longer in opposing the union, thereby furnishing their common enemies with an occasion of triumph, and laying a stumbling-block in the way of the king against the Protestants, they consented to the drawing up a common Polish confession, still retaining the Augustan for themselves.

This occasioned great joy. Many of the secret Arians, who, amidst the discord hitherto subsisting, sought to fish in troubled waters, submitted to be set to rights, confessed the godhead of Christ, and were again received into the communion of the Protestants; but the stiffnecked were excluded. They now drew up the agreement, or the so-called *Consensus Sendomiriensis*; which, having been read on the 14th of April, and approved by all, was then signed. The
con-

contents were, That they would no longer look upon each other as erroneous, nor teach that the sacraments were mere signs; but especially, according to the 14th article of the Saxon confession, or the repetition of the Augustan, of 1555, (which was, at the instance of Gliczner, inserted at large, with a view to show their fellowship with the Saxon church) to teach the real presence of Christ in the sacred supper of the Lord; not only to attend each other's preaching, but even to perform divine service, and communicate with the congregations adhering to another confession; regulating themselves on such occasion after the ritual peculiar to that congregation; and to send their deputies to the general synods of each branch*.

§ 34.

AT the next synod of the Lutherans and the Brethren at Posenania on the 20th of May 1570, certain remarks, *Consignatio observationum*, &c. were farther added; for instance, that they, in the doctrine of the Lord's supper, would abstain from all expressions which vary from the holy scriptures, the Saxon confession, and their own agreement; and, in point of church-fellowship, admit no members of another confession to the communion, without a testimony of their own minister; nor receive any minister, who had left their own church, into the ministry; nor draw the hearers of any congrega-

* *Carpzow*, in his *Religions-Untersuchung* (sect. ii. c. ii) speaks of this, in § 9, thus: "Without prejudice to this union, each party retained their own peculiar church-confession and rites, their usual names of distinction, and their own congregations: since they, in their agreement, had no farther view, than to acknowledge each other to be orthodox; entirely to renounce and avoid all controversies and differences; and to render each other mutual services in their respective churches." Consequently, this union was no syncretism, (confusion of religions;) and therefore the modern Brethren, whom *Jablonsky*, in his apologetic letter to *Monf. de Mauclere*, stiles the genuine posterity of the Sandomirians, are no Syncretists.

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tion to another ; and, either privately, or at a general synod, to adjust the differences which might arise. Upon this, the agreement was published to all the people, who wept for joy, whilst the members of the synod, during the singing the *Te Deum*, gave each other the hand of fellowship. After this, a minister of the Brethren preached in the Lutheran church, according to the Lutheran usages, and a Lutheran minister did the same in a church of the Brethren. They dispatched deputies with the agreement to Heidelberg ; and made inquiry, whether any farther common Polish confession, or especial body of divinity, were necessary, besides this ? To which they received a reply, that they might be very well content with this agreement. The Protestant grandees, in conjunction with the divines, wrote also in 1578 to the electors of the Palatinate, Saxony, and Brandenburg, giving them an account of the agreement of Sendomir, and the state of their congregations since. These congratulated them upon the occasion, wishing that all divines would follow their example. At the following synods of *Cracow*, *Poznan*, *Petrikow*, *Wladislaw*, &c. which all the divines and lay-elders of all the three confessions punctually attended, this agreement, together with the remarks above-mentioned, were confirmed anew. Several clauses, or canons, were added, relating to the avoiding needless, and adjusting unforeseen differences ; the better regulating the church-discipline, and the founding schools common for them all ; and lastly, it was resolved, that one church might give a vocation to a minister of another ; provided that such should be bound to accommodate themselves to the usages of the church they were appointed to serve.

§ 35.

IN this manner all the Protestants in Poland lived in unity, which none, but their enemies, regretted ; since they thereby

thereby lost an occasion, either of rendering them odious to the king on account of their discord, and thus declaring them at the diets unfit to be tolerated; or else, of seeing them destroy one another, and the grandees withdrawing from them.

So much the more did the adversaries triumph, when, at the general synod of *Posnania* in 1582, after an union of twelve years, *Paul Gerike*, a Lutheran minister of *Posnania*, and *Enoch*, who had left the Brethren, or, according to *Salig's* expression, had fled from the Brethren's rigorous discipline, protested against the agreement of *Sendomir*; threatening their superintendent *Gliczner* with excommunication, and alledging the opinions of the universities of *Jena*, *Tuebingen*, and *Frankfort*; wherein this agreement is supposed to be censured. To these, *Gliczner* opposed the opinions of the universities of *Wittenberg*, *Leipfic*, and *Heidelberg*; and, at the general synod of *Thorn* in 1595, entered into an amicable conference with *Gerike*. There were present at this synod, besides a great number of spiritual and temporal deputies of the three confessions, who avowed again the agreement, eleven solemn embassies from the principal Polish and Lithuanian princes, and from the princes of *Reufs* of the Greek church*. *Gerike* would hearken to no compromise. But when his own hearers had acceded to the agreement, he, for fear of being excommunicated, departed secretly. Hereupon he was by the synod deposed from his office, which was notified to him by a temporal deputy at *Posnania*. *Gliczner*, who amidst these disturb-

* With these a treaty was entered upon, with a view to a closer union; and, for that end, a synodal writing was in 1599 dispatched by the presidents of all the three confessions from *Vilna* to *Meletius*, patriarch of *Constantinople*; to whom the senior of the Brethren, *Turnovius*, also wrote in particular. The answer to the latter is well known. Yet the coalition did not take place; for it came no farther than to a political union, or confederacy, as they called it,

ances received a vocation from *Posnania* into *Prussia**, notwithstanding all threats, persevered till his death in 1603 in his attachment to the agreement of Sendomir, and kept the rest of the Lutheran congregations to it. His successors had different sentiments, suffering the fellowship with the other confessions to be interrupted for a whole century; till, in 1712, when the mischief of separation was discerned, though too late, they sent again deputies to the general synods. But the Reformed were more and more united with the Bohemian Brethren, until, in the year 1627, at the synod of *Ostrog*, they coalesced into one body in such a manner, that, from that time, no farther distinction has been made between the Bohemian Brethren and the Reformed in Great Poland.

* When Gliczner left *Posnania*, many of the Lutheran ministers offered to join the Bohemian churches. But the Brethren's senior Turnovius refused them; representing to them, that Gliczner always remained their rightful superintendent; that it was repugnant to the fellowship entered into with Luther, and to the agreement of Sendomir; and that the Lutheran churches would decrease, should the ministers of the Augustan confession, which the Brethren likewise admitted and received as a sound confession, leave their church.

THE
ANCIENT HISTORY
OF THE
BRETHREN.

PART IV.

What befel the Brethren remaining in Bohemia and Moravia, until their Dispersion in 1627.

§ 36.

LET us now see what befel the Brethren left in Bohemia and Moravia, since the great emigration into Poland and Prussia in 1548, who, according to § 27, obtained rest under the emperor *Maximilian II.* Most of the Brethren having returned out of Prussia to the Brethren in their own country; the divines of Heidelberg, who were very much pleased with the new Wittenberg-edition of the Bohemian confession, prefaced by Luther, and accompanied with an excellent testimony of the theological faculty, of 1573; sent a divine to them, in 1574, with the request, to lay their church-order open to him, since they, at the regulation of their churches, wished to make use of it. Upon his return, the most excellent testimonies ensued, lamenting, at the same time, that they had not hitherto been able to bring matters so far, “because they had leaned too much upon
“ the

“ the temporal government; whereas the Brethren had
 “ taken care not to lose any thing of the liberty purchased
 “ for them by the blood of Christ, though their congrega-
 “ tions were also subject to temporal government, and to all
 “ men, for their good and edification.”

§ 37.

HEREUPON the Brethren took in hand the new translation of the bible out of the original, of which mention has been made § 19. They sent, for that purpose, some of their young students to Wittenberg and Basil, to learn the original languages. Some noblemen among the Brethren had, even before this, sent their sons, under the inspection of a deacon, to the German and other universities; and others had, of their own free motion, frequented these seats of learning, to study the languages and divinity; so, that *Laurentius*, who, in the Posnanian disputes, had been sent by *George Israel* to Wittenberg, and, having attended Luther's lectures, had been at his burial; visited ten of the Brethren's children, and was present at a disputation held by them upon the third article of the Bohemian confession, concerning the holy Trinity. The benefit they hoped to reap from it, was also productive of some mischief, as may be concluded from the answer of the Brethren's deputy to the Strasburg divines in 1540. (§ 25.) For, upon *Bucer's* enquiry, whether they were also troubled by fanatics, as was the case in Germany? he replied, “ No: but there are others,
 “ and even some of our own people, who have returned
 “ from universities; for these are so desirous of amending our
 “ unity, that, under the pretence of gospel-liberty, they aim
 “ at an abolition of discipline.” The Brethren being apprehensive, and finding even by experience, that the youth would, at foreign academies, together with the useful sciences, learn many unprofitable things, and introduce them into the congregations,

gregations, to the corruption of their simple doctrine and manners ; they resolved, at the synod of *Bunzlau* in 1584, to found schools among themselves, and particularly to establish seminaries at *Bunzlau*, *Przerow*, and *Evanziz* in *Moravia* ; whereas hitherto each bishop and minister had a few young men committed to him, to train them up as *Acoluths*. In the last place, so early as the year 1575, professor *Efrom Ruediger* at *Wittenberg*, had read, by way of lectures, a commentary upon the psalms ; which was by the most learned men of those days deemed preferable to any then extant. The renowned *Dr. Amandus Polanus* also repairing to them, taught their youth ; even though they acquainted him beforehand, that their poverty would not admit of allowing their professors any stated stipends.

§ 38.

IN the mean time, the adversaries had, through the instigation of *Joachim of Neuhaus*, chancellor of *Bohemia*, in 1565 procured an edict from the emperor against the *Brethren* ; which, however, was lost, when the chancellor, on his return, fell, with the bridge, into the *Danube*, and was drowned. Thus the *Brethren* remained without molestation ; but could not obtain liberty for the public exercise of their religion, till in 1575, by the desire of *Maximilian II.*, they, in conjunction with the *Masters of Prague*, (for so the *Calixtines* were termed) and with the *Lutherans*, presented their common confession ; which, having been sent to the theological faculty at *Wittenberg*, met with their very high approbation. Indeed, at the demise of the emperor, the edict of *Uladislaus* against the *Picards*, mentioned § 18, was confirmed by his son and successor *Rudolph II.* in 1602. But the patrons of the *Brethren* having protested against it, and shown, they were no such kind of people

people as had been there described, it was not put into execution. It is related on this occasion, that the emperor, having, immediately after, received the news of the Turks taking *Stuhl-Weissenburg**, declared, “ I looked
 “ for some such blow, ever since I began to usurp domi-
 “ nion over the consciences of men, which belongs to
 “ God.”

§ 39.

AT length, in 1609, it came so far, that the emperor *Rudolph II.* by an imperial edict †, ratified, both for himself and his successors, to the states who held the sacrament in both kinds, (amongst whom the Brethren also were comprehended) the free exercise of religion, which they had obtained under *Maximilian*. He granted them, at the same time, the privilege of erecting new churches, and of chusing for themselves, out of the nobles who composed the states, patrons, or advocates of the church, to maintain their rights. It was likewise committed to them, together with the university of Prague, to reform the under-consistory, which had been promised them before. This consistory was, accordingly, composed of three Calixtines, three Brethren, and three Lutherans, together with three professors of the university. Some Protestants, indeed, would have had the Brethren excluded from the free exercise of religion, on account of their peculiar church-discipline. But, upon the representation of the states, that they neither would, nor could, set aside a congregation which they had neither established nor maintained, and which, as well as they, had laboured in the vineyard of the Lord; the Brethren

* *Alba Regalis*, then the chief city in Hungary. See *Come-nius*, § 120. (The Editor.)

† This famous edict was called *Der Majestaets-Brief*, His Majesty's Letter, by way of eminence. (The Editor.)

were not only included in the grant of a free religious exercise ; but even one of their bishops was joined to the administrator of the consistory, who was a Calixtine, as his next colleague : which regulation was to continue as long as the difference of church-order and discipline should subsist. Moreover, the Bethlehem-church at Prague, in which *Huss* had begun to preach the gospel, (§ 5.) was delivered into their hands. And as it was not spacious enough, they obtained the liberty of erecting another church for both Germans and Bohemians. Hereupon the imperial edict was published with great joy and exultation, and ringing all the bells, but, alas, not without a sinful triumph over their enemies ; and after a sermon preached on the occasion, the *Te Deum* was sung.

§ 40.

“ BUT, ah !” (writes Comenius out of the History of the Bohemian persecution) “ together with the free exercise of religion, the liberty of the flesh began gradually to appear ; and good discipline was lost even among those who had before strenuously maintained it. This liberty, therefore, which was attended with a carnal security, was displeasing to all the pious ; for they apprehended bad consequences from it.” It seems that the Brethren, who were expected, on occasion of this union, to lay aside their particular church-order and discipline, had, to gratify their wellwishers among the other parties, made some abatement in it ; that, in hopes they would at length give it up altogether, the glorious privileges obtained of the emperor were extended to them likewise ; and that they, accordingly, had, by degrees, accommodated themselves to the multitude, becoming conformed to the world, and, to avoid the loss of their outward ease and prosperity, reckoned many points, formerly esteemed necessary, as non-essentials, and departed

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from

from their primitive purity and strength; if they were not even entangled in many actual transgressions: insomuch that, at the complete overthrow of the Bohemian church-liberty, they were not exempted from feeling those evils in their utmost rigour, which cannot altogether be called, sufferings for Christ's sake.

§ 41.

FOR, upon the death of the emperor *Rudolph* in 1612, when the resolutions of the council of Trent were to be put in execution against the Protestants, and the beginning was to be made with the Bohemians; these were, through incessant vexations and mortifications *, against which no imperial edict, nor any representation, were of avail to protect them, driven to impatience, resistance by force of arms, and at last to a renunciation of obedience to their new king *Ferdinand II*; to throw the imperial counsellors down headlong out of the windows of the castle, and to chuse the elector Palatine *Frederic* for their king. But, after the unfortunate battle on the *Weissenberg* near Prague in 1620, they were partly taken prisoners, and partly obliged to go into exile with him. Certain of them, having, by a dissembled offer of pardon, been allured to come again into the country, were put in prison, and, as rebels, some of them condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and some to death. On the 21st of June 1621, seven-and-twenty of the principal lords and defenders of the Protestants were beheaded. Hereupon ensued the coercive reformation. First of all, the Anabaptists in Moravia, who had forty-five colleges, in each of which lodged between some hundreds and a thousand persons, were banished. They thus escaped a greater evil, which

* The political grounds and occasion of them may be read at large in the History of the Bohemian persecutions, c. xli, together with the coercive reformation of the kingdoms of Bohemia and Moravia; from c. xlv—cv.

afterwards befel the reft. To avoid, in the beginning, the appearance of a religious perfecution, left the neighbouring princes might be alarmed; they were, by plunderings, incessant extortions of money, at times even by a variety of tortures, and by executions, driven to the extremity, that many either fell away, or quitted the country, leaving all they had behind them. But as it was found that thus the end was not answered, and that the land would rather be stripped of its inhabitants; the ministers were banished, first of all, from Prague, and the free cities, which now were deprived of their liberty, and, at last, in 1624, out of the whole country. Many hid themselves in mountains and caves, and visited their congregations secretly. But, being traced out and detected, some of them were put to death, and others expelled the country. This befel not only such of the states and cities, as had joined in the war; whom, as it was first pretended, they would chastise merely on account of rebellion: but as their enemies had to fear no opposition, on account of the good success of the arms of the emperor in the well-known war which lasted thirty years, all who would not abjure their religion were banished. Baron *Charles Scherrotin*, vice-margrave of Moravia, who had twenty-four ministers of the Unity of the Brethren upon his estates, endeavoured, indeed, to prevent the proscription, by representing to the imperial court, that this mandate had no reference to him and his subjects, as they had continued in their loyalty to the emperor. But he effected nothing; and, as he continued to conceal the bishops and some of the ministers of the Brethren, he was at last forced to quit the country with them. He went to Breslaw, where he died in 1636, leaving his library, which he had collected at a vast expence, to the church of St. Mary Magdalene. To fill up the places of the ministers in the desolated congregations, for the most part, illiterate and ignorant persons, and, partly, notoriously wicked men were set over them as pastors. When these could effect nothing, a commission for reformation was appointed, who, by treachery

chery and outrage, were to draw the Protestants into a recantation : and glad they were, if, upon an assurance given them, that they might believe in their hearts what they pleased, they could induce some to recant ; but others they compelled by all manner of vexations. But, as many noblemen remained immovable, and supported the common people with the hopes of regaining their liberty ; the whole body of the Protestant nobility, having been first drained in a great measure of their substance, and stripped of their estates, were banished the country in 1627. Many hundred noble and other reputable families of citizens took their refuge in *Vogtland, Misnia, Lusatia, Silesia*, the margraviate of *Brandenburg, Poland, Prussia, Hungary, Transilvania*, the *Empire*, and the *Netherlands*. The common people were strictly watched, to prevent their following them. They were now still more pressed, by a variety of methods, to embrace a religion, which they could not agree with in their hearts ; or rather, only to join in the practice of certain outward usages and forms. And yet, notwithstanding all this, many thousands found an opportunity of following their ministers into exile.

§ 42.

AMONG the ministers of the Brethren driven out of Moravia ; *John Amos*, called *Comenius*, from *Komensky*, the place of his nativity, is most known ; of whose remarkable life, notwithstanding the brevity of this work, I must relate some few particulars ; because it throws some light upon the state of the Brethren during their exile, which is otherwise almost totally unknown.

He was born at *Komna* in Moravia on the 28th of March 1592 ; prosecuted his studies at *Herborn* and *Heidelberg* ; and in 1616 became head-master of the school at *Przerow*, which he made a kind of college, being an eminent schoolman. In the year 1616 he was ordained, and in 1618 appointed

appointed minister at *Fulnek* in Moravia. He, at the same time, took upon him the direction of the school. In the war which broke out soon after, *Fulnek* was taken by the Spaniards; and his excellent library plundered. When in 1624 all the ministers were banished the country, he sojourned for a time in the mansion-house of Baron *George Sadowsky de Slaupna*, in the Bohemian mountains, from whence he visited his orphan congregation, and on their behalf in 1626 undertook a deputation into Poland. But when in 1627 even the Protestant nobility were forced to leave the country, he, being no longer safe in his retreat, emigrated with part of his congregation through Silesia into Poland. Being arrived at the mountains on the confines, he, casting once more an eye towards Moravia and Bohemia, fell with his Brethren upon his knees, and with many tears prayed to God, that he would not quite remove his gospel from Moravia and Bohemia, but still reserve to himself a seed*. And this prayer was heard. They directed their way towards *Lissa*, where he laboured in the school, and in 1631 published his *Janua Linguarum referata*, which has been translated into twelve European, and even into some of the Asiatic languages. He was under engagements to go to Sweden, England, and Transylvania, in order to regulate the schools. In the intervals he resided mostly at Elbing and *Lissa*, employing himself in stillness upon his grand pansophic work, being an encyclopedia of all sciences. But having, at the fire of *Lissa* in 1656, lost almost all his books, he repaired to Francfort on the Oder, from thence to Hamburg, and at last, in the same year, to Amsterdam, where he became a private tutor to the children of some merchants; and printed his *Opera Didactica*. At a synod held at *Lissa* in 1632, he was consecrated bishop of the dispersed Brethren from Bohemia and Moravia; and was the senior bishop of the Bre-

* See the inscription in the ball of the Bohemian church-steeple at Berlin 1736. *Acta historico-ecclesiastica*, p. x. p. 585.

thren, or president of the synod, from 1648 till 1671; when, on the 15th of October, being in the 80th year of his age, he ended his toilsome pilgrimage and exile. As to his posterity, so much is come to our knowledge, that his son *David* died at *Amsterdam*, minister of the Bohemian exiles. His daughter *Elizabeth* was married to *Petrus Figulus*, commonly called *Jablonsky*, whom, in his eighth year, Comenius brought with him out of Moravia. These were the parents of *Daniel Ernest Jablonsky*, a man much celebrated in the modern history of the Brethren. He was principal chaplain to his majesty the king of Prussia, and senior president of the Unity in Poland.

§ 43.

COMENIUS, on his many travels, took all possible pains to restore the oppressed church of the Brethren in Bohemia and Moravia; nor did he ever give up his hopes of seeing it effected, as long as the war of thirty years continued. In this view he addressed the Protestant princes, and especially the English nation, when in 1641 he had been invited into England for the improvement of the schools. His abilities and labour in the schools in England are well known to the learned; and his affection for the English nation and for the church of England, is evidently seen in his book, *An Exhortation of the Churches of Bohemia to the Church of England*, &c. His fidelity towards his Brethren, and the desire of seeing the Unity restored in their own country, misled him and other pious teachers to fix their eyes upon the help of man; insomuch that, upon every successful battle during the war of thirty years, they conceived fresh hopes, which, however, in the upshot proved vain. But most of all he exposed his weakness, when he suffered himself to be persuaded to give credit to the prophecies which were in those days circulated concerning the fall of the Antichrist, and
of

of the house of Austria, and concerning the restoration of king *Frederic*, and of church-liberty in Bohemia. He even recommended these prophecies to others, against the advice of many of his Brethren and colleagues. Being on his travels in 1626, as deputy from Moravia to Poland, he was made acquainted at *Goerliz*, by a young baron de *Scherotin*, who came from Moravia, with the visions of *Christopher Kotter*, a tanner of *Sprottau* in Silesia; who had received them as early as 1616, and in 1620 disclosed them to king *Frederic*. These visions were, at the command of the elector of Brandenburg, examined by divines, and by many looked upon as of God. Comenius hesitated in the beginning to give credit to them; but was persuaded by the minister of *Sprottau*, and still farther confirmed in the belief of them by some divines in Brandenburg. He translated these prophecies, and had them printed at *Pirna*. Some ministers of the Brethren opposed it, representing that such prophecies misled men from the word of God into human imaginations; and that they would expose the dispersed Brethren to still greater misery and distress, and even to danger of their lives. But all this could not restrain him from carrying them over to Holland to the elector *Frederic*, whom the Bohemians had chosen to be their king, (§ 41.) who wished to see them; and to present them to him, with an address, in which he, indeed, did not maintain that they were of divine origin, yet advised attention to them. Upon his return into Bohemia, he took *Kotter* with him. But this man was in 1627 taken prisoner, and banished the country.

Soon after, *Christina*, who was afterwards his foster-daughter, of the noble Polish family of *Poniatowsky*, had just such revelations; which she went so far as to present to the imperial general *Wallenstein*. The ministers of the Brethren in Poland were divided on this head. The majority rejected, and warned others against them. The prophetess herself was soon after delivered from her visions, dying in

1644, having spent twelve years in the matrimonial state with the co-bishop *Daniel Vetter*.

In the mean time, *Nicolaus Drabicius*, a minister of the Brethren expelled Moravia, had, at *Ledniz* in Hungary, where he dealt in cloth, visions of armies coming from the North and from the East, and brought prince *Sigismund Ragotzy* in Transilvania a divine mandate to overthrow the house of Austria and the Pope. Now, though this prince did not enter into it, and died soon after; yet his friends conceived fresh hopes, upon his son *George's* inroad into Poland, and upon the death of the emperor, and king of Bohemia, *Ferdinand II.* However, this hope also proved abortive. Poor Drabicius was taken up, and, after his right hand had been cut off, burnt, together with his prophecies. Comenius was persuaded to receive the fancies of Drabicius as truth, and had them printed, together with *Kotter's* and *Poniatovia's* prophecies, under the title of *Lux in Tenebris*.

§ 44.

THIS, doubtless, was a fruitless, and withal, a dangerous and hurtful work; which he himself bemoaned in his last book, *Unum Necessarium*, (*The One Thing Needful*) written in 1668, in the 77th year of his age. Far more profitable was it for his Brethren and for the public, when in 1649 he made an extract of a book written by *Joannes Lasitius*, a Polish nobleman of the Swiss confession, who, on his travels, became in 1570 intimately acquainted with the Brethren in Bohemia, under the title, *Historia de Origine et Gestis Fratrum Bohemorum*. Comenius had it printed, together with the entire eighth book, *De Moribus et Institutis Fratrum*. In the preface and conclusion he added an exhortation to return to the first love and zeal of their fathers.

All hopes of the renewal of the church in his own country being vanished; *Comenius* believed, that with him, as the last bishop,

bishop, the Bohemian and Moravian church of the Brethren would be extinct. He, therefore, endeavoured to preserve the memory and blessedness of it, in a threefold manner. He republished the church-discipline and order of the Brethren, (*Ratio Disciplinæ Ordinisque ecclesiastici in Unitate Fratrum Bohemorum*), as it had been drawn up in 1616 at a synod at *Scherawitz* in Moravia, signed by all the bishops and ministers, and in 1632 printed at the synod of *Lissa*; to which he annexed a compendious church-history of the Brethren taken from *Lasitius*, and his own sentiments concerning a general reformation. He dedicated this book, as his last will and testament, and as a legacy of great moment, to the church of England, to use it according to their own pleasure, and preserve it, as a deposit, for the posterity of the Brethren: “should God” (so he writes § 13 of the *Dedictory Address* *) “produce, even out of these confusions, that which is better, than we all can think: to wit, (as he hath promised) that the gospel may at last pass away from sharply chastised Christendome to the other nations of the world: that so (as it was long ago) our stumbling may be the enriching of the world, and our diminishing, the riches of the Gentiles. Rom. xi. 12.

“The consideration” (says he § 14.) “of this, so much to be admired, eternal providence, doth gently allay the grief which I have taken by reason of the ruine of the church of my native countrey; of the government of which (so long as she kept her station) the laws are here described, and set forth in view. Even my self, alas! being the very last superintendent † of all, am fain (obliged) before your eyes, O churches! to shut the door after me. &c.

* These are the words of the English edition of the *Exhortation of the Churches of Bohemia to the Church of England*, &c. (See the Editor's Preface.)

† President of the synod.

“ But yet, I would not (§ 16.) have these things to be so
 “ taken, as if, in my solitude, and by my departure hence,
 “ I feared or foretold the final end of the church in my
 “ countrey. I know that the Church, being founded upon
 “ the Rock of eternity, can not fail, viz. the Catholick.
 “ And yet examples testifie, that particular churches are
 “ sometimes overthrown by the hand of an angry God,
 “ that, according to his good pleasure, others may be planted,
 “ or else the same otherwise.

“ This I (§ 17.) with full trust expecting from the ever-
 “ lasting Goodness, (if, notwithstanding, God should call
 “ me to depart out of this life, without present comfort,
 “ yet) will say with the last of those seven Maccabean Bre-
 “ thren martyrs, *Let the anger of the Omnipotent, which is*
 “ *come upon our generation for our sins, rest upon me* (or, cease
 “ in me) *and my brethren.* 2 Mac. vii. 38.

“ But to you, (§ 20.) Friends*, (after the example of
 “ our eternal Master †) we commend our well-beloved Mo-
 “ ther, the Church. Take you now the care hereof in our
 “ rooms, whatever it shall please God to do unto her, whe-
 “ ther to restore her amongst us, or, when she is deceased at
 “ home, to raise her to life elsewhere. You have just cause
 “ indeed to love her, even when dead, who, whilst yet liv-
 “ ing, went before you in her good examples of faith and
 “ patience, even now unto the third generation.

“ God himself, (§ 21.) when he took away and laid
 “ waste his people's land, city, temple, because of their
 “ unthankfulness for his blessings, he would still have
 “ the basis of the altar to be left in its place, upon which,
 “ after ages, (when they should be returned to themselves
 “ and to God) they might build again. Ezra III. 3. If
 “ then, by the grace of God, there hath been found in
 “ us (as wise men and godly have sometimes thought) any

* The Church of England.

† John xix. 27.

“ thing true, any thing honourable, any thing just, any thing
 “ pure, any thing to be loved, and of good report, and if
 “ any virtue, and any praise; care must be taken, that it
 “ may not dye with us, when we dye: and, at least, that
 “ the very foundations be not buried in the rubbish of pre-
 “ sent ruines, so, that the generation to come should not
 “ be able to tell where to finde them: And indeed, this
 “ care is taken, and provision is made on this behalf, by
 “ this our trust entrusted in your hands.”

Thus far Comenius.

This excellent depofite the late Dr. *Buddeus* endeavoured to make use of for the benefit of the Lutheran church, and in 1702 published it with a preface, in which he commends the discipline of the Bohemian Brethren, as it deserves, proposing it to the Lutheran churches as a pattern for imitation. It was afterwards, together with the Bohemian confession, translated into German, and printed at *Schwabach* in 1739.

§ 45.

THE second thing Comenius did for the preservation of the dispersed Bohemian and Moravian Brethren's church, was the consecration of a bishop *in spem contra spem*, in hope against hope. Upon the demise of *Martinus Gertichius*, a Polish bishop, in 1657, his colleague, *John Buettner*, wrote to Comenius, as president of the synod, that he would be pleased to consider about successors, lest, after the decease of them both, the order of bishops, which had now continued two hundred years, might cease. It was not easy, at first, to meet with subjects properly qualified for the purpose. At length, the choice fell upon *Nicolaus Gertichius*, court-chaplain to the duke of *Liegniz*, for the congregations in Poland; and upon *Petrus Figulus*, from *Jablonne*, or *Gabel*, in Bohemia, his native place, called *Jablonsky*; who, as a child, emigrated with Comenius, and was now his son-in-law. This

last was designed for the Brethren dispersed in and out of Bohemia and Moravia. Their consecration was performed at the synod of *Mielenczyn* in 1662. As Comenius, on account of his advanced age, could not appear in person, he sent *Daniel Vetter*, his consenior, to it; giving him a full power and a consecration in writing, according to the custom of the primitive church, when, in times of trouble and persecution, two or more bishops could not meet to consecrate a new bishop. *Peter Jablonsky* was intended to be Comenius's successor for the Bohemian church: but he died before him in 1670. His son *Daniel Ernest Jablonsky* succeeded him in 1699, obtaining, at the same time, the superintendency of the Bohemian Brethren out of Poland. And this is the very person, who again transmitted the deposit of the episcopal ordination to the Brethren, who lately emigrated from Bohemia and Moravia, as will be related in its place.

The third thing Comenius did for the Brethren remaining in Bohemia and Moravia, was the publication of a catechism, which was printed at *Amsterdam* in 1661, with a dedication "To all the godly Sheep of Christ, dispersed here
" and there, especially to those of *Fulnek, Gersdorf, Glan-*
" *dorf, Klitte, Kunewalde, Stachewalde, Seitendorf, and*
" *Zauchtenthal**." And from every one of these villages Brethren are come to *Herrnhut*. The dedication begins with these words: "Grace and peace from God through
" the sanctification of the Spirit, and the sprinkling of the
" blood of Christ, &c." and concludes with the following words, "May the God of all grace grant you, to be
" strengthened with might by his Spirit in the inner man,
" for the cause of Christ, to continue instant in prayer, to
" remain free from sin, to hold out amidst trials and af-

* These names were then expressed only by the initial letters, because these towns and villages were the principal retirements of the Brethren in Moravia. See *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia*. Appendix, p. 10.

“ fictions, to the praise of his name, and to your own
“ eternal establishment for his kingdom.”

Of his other writings I will make no farther mention :
only let me observe, that, in the list of them, there is com-
monly forgotten his *Manuale Biblicum*, or, *Marrow of all*
the Holy Scripture, being an extract of the Bible ; which
was composed by him in the Bohemian language in 1658,
to supply the defect of bibles, which were taken away from
the Brethren.

§ 46.

Now I will proceed to show the succession of the Bohe-
mian, Moravian, and Polish bishops of the Unity of the
Brethren, from 1467 to his time, taken from *Adrian Regenvol-*
scius's Systema Ecclesiarum Slavonicarum, (lib. iii. cap. x.)
and will add the continuation of it to our own time from
Jablonsky's Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as well as
from other records.

1467. By STEPHEN, bishop of the Waldenses in Au-
stria, were consecrated

1. MICHAEL BRADACIUS of Zamberg, President*.
2. N. N. an ancient minister of the Waldenses.
3. N. N. one who had been ordained a priest in the
church of Rome.

In the same year these three consecrated

4. MATTHIAS CONVALDENSIS †, President.
5. PROCOPIUS, bachelor of divinity, President 27
years.

* The president was the eldest bishop in respect to consecra-
tion, and the first among the other bishops ; who, as long as
he lived, presided at the synods.

† The greatest part of the surnames of the bishops are derived
from the places of their respective nativity. *Convaldensis*, from
Kunewalde near Litiz. But some of them are family-names, as
Martinus Szkoda.

1467. 6. THOMAS PRÆLAUZIUS, President 11 years. He, having, shortly before his death in 1518, heard of Luther's labour, prayed for the blessing of God upon it.
1499. 7. *Elias Chrzenovius*. He had before visited the Brethren, who were in exile in Moldavia.
8. LUCAS PRAGENSIS, bachelor of divinity, President 10 years. He had been a deputy in Greece, and afterwards in France and Italy. He compiled the first collection of hymns.
9. *Ambrosius Magnus, Skutecensis*.
1516. 10. MARTINUS SZKODA, President 5 years.
1529. 11. *Wenceslaus Albus, of Brandeis*.
12. *Andreas Ciclovius*.
13. JOANNES CORNU, or *Horn*, President 15 years. Having been sent as deputy to Luther in 1522 and 1542, he got the hymn-book of the Brethren printed in German at Nuernberg.
1532. 14. *Benedictus Bavorinius*, of noble extraction. Luther and Melanchton corresponded with him.
15. *Vitus Michalecius*, bachelor of divinity.
16. JOANNES AUGUSTA, President 25 years. He was a deputy sent to Luther in 1536, 1540, and 1542. He corresponded with Luther, and was, on that account, imprisoned 16 years. He afterwards visited the congregations in Great Poland, and left several Bohemian writings behind him.
1537. 17. *Martinus Michalecius*.
18. *Matthias Sionius*. He emigrated into Prussia.
1553. 19. *Joannes Nigrinus, or Czerny*.
20. *Matthias Erythræus, or Czervenka*, a deputy to Bucer, notary and historiographer.
1557. 21. GEORGIUS ISRAEL, President 16 years. He was sent as deputy to Luther. In 1548 he

conducted the exiles into Prussia; founded many churches in Great Poland; sent in 1586 a deputation to the theological faculty at Wittenberg, and left behind him a History of the origin of the Polish church. He was first senior of the Unity in Poland.

1557. 22. *Joannes Blahoslau*. He prosecuted his studies under Trotzendorf at Goldberg, at Wittenberg, Koenigsberg, and Basil. He translated the New Testament, wrote an History of the Unity, and the Lives of the principal Ministers.
23. *Andreas Stephanus*. He left behind him Sermons upon the Apostles' Creed.
24. JOANNES CALEPH, President 6 months. A strenuous maintainer of church-discipline.
1560. 25. *Joannes Laurentius*, senior in Poland; a disciple of Trotzendorf and Luther. He visited the congregations in Prussia, and in 1568 the students at Wittenberg.
1577. 26. ZACHARIAS LITOMISLENSIS, President 2 years.
27. JOANNES ÆNEAS, A. M. President 4 years.
1587. 28. *Joannes Abdias*.
29. SIMON THEOPHILUS TURNOVIUS, President 14 years; senior in Poland. He prosecuted his studies at Cosminiec and Wittenberg, assisted in quality of a deacon in 1570 to bring to a conclusion the Agreement of Sendomir. By his help, *Joannes Lasitius* wrote his eight books *De Origine et Gestis Fratrum Bohemorum*. He was a man of great learning, especially in languages. His common saying was, "Come, Lord Jesus! come quickly!"
1589. 30. *Joannes Ephraim*, who studied at Heidelberg.
31. *Paulus Jessenius*.

1594. 32. JACOBUS NARCISSUS, President 3 years.
33. *Joannes Niemczanius*.
1599. 34. *Samuel Sufficius*.
35. *Zacharias Ariston*.
1601. 36. *Bartholomæus Niemczanius*.
37. JOANNES LANECIUS, President 15 years.
1606. 38. *Joannes Cruciger*.
1608. 39. *Matthias Rybinius*, senior in Poland. He translated the psalms into Polish verse, for the use of the churches.
40. MARTINUS GRATIANUS GERTICHUS, senior in Poland. President 3 years. He studied at Wittenberg.
1609. 41. *Matthæus Koneczny*.
1611. 42. *Matthias Cyrus*, the first assessor of the consistory at Prague.
1612. 43. JOANNES TURNOVIUS, D. D. senior in Poland, President 30 days.
44. GREGORIUS ERASTUS, President 14 years.
1618. 45. *Joannes Cyrillus*, assessor of the consistory at Prague.
1627. 46. *Daniel Micolajewius*. He was received from the Swiss confession into the Unity, and consecrated bishop in Poland.
1629. 47. *Paulus Paliurus* of Moravia, senior in Poland. He translated the Bible into Polish.
1632. 48. *Laurentius Justinus*, President 5 years.
49. *Matthias Procopius*.
50. JOANNES AMOS COMENIUS, President 23 years.
51. *Paulus Fabricius*, assessor of the consistory at Prague. He went into exile to Misnia; and became at Lissa senior of the dispersed Moravian Brethren.
1633. 52. *Martinus Orminius*. He and all the following were seniors in Poland.

1633. 53. *Joannes Rybinus*. He was present at the synod of Dort in 1618.
1644. 54. *Martinus Gertichius*.
55. *Joannes Byttnerus*.
Thus far *Regenvolscius*.

Now follow the remainder of the Bishops of the Unity in Poland, taken from *Jablonsky's* Letter to Dr. *Wake*, archbishop of Canterbury, 1717*.

1662. 56. *Nicolaus Gertichius*, court-chaplain to the duke of Liegniz, consecrated at the synod of *Mielenczyn* for the Polish Unity by *Byttner*, with the written consent and blessing of old *Comenius*.
57. *Petrus Figulus*, surnamed *Jablonsky*, from the place of his nativity, Gabel in Bohemia; *Comenius's* son-in-law. He was consecrated for the Bohemian branch, in *Spem contra Spem*; that is, in case, contrary to all expectation, the church in Bohemia and Moravia should be restored.
1673. 58. *Adam Samuel Hartmann*, consecrated at the synod of Lissa, October 28th.
1676. 59. *Joannes Zugehoer*, in St. Peter and Paul's church at Dantzick, August 13th.
1692. 60. *Jsachim Gulich*, at the synod of Lissa, June 26th.
1699. 61. *Daniel Ernest Jablonsky*, son of *Peter*, chaplain in ordinary at the court of Berlin, at the synod of Lissa, March 10th.
62. *Joannes Jacobides*.
1712. 63. *Solomon Opitz*, at the synod of Zuelchow, July 11th.

* See *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia*, Report &c. p. 5 and 6. Item, *Chancellor Pfaff's Dissertatio de Successione Episcopali*.

1712. 64. *David Cassius*, at the general synod of Thorn, November 4th.

Upon these still follow

65. *Paulus Cassius*, brother of the foregoing, consecrated on the 31st of October 1712, co-bishop; and on the 26th of February 1725, bishop, at Francfort on the Oder.

66. *Christianus Sitkovius*, consecrated con-senior, on the 6th of May 1732, at the synod of Lissa, and in 1734, senior, at Francfort on the Oder.

67. *David Nitschmann*, consecrated in 1735 by Jablonsky at Berlin, bishop of the Moravian Brethren, &c.

§ 47.

CONCERNING the state of the Protestant Bohemians, who partly fled from, and partly remained in, their own country, we can, for want of sufficient records, say but little with any certainty. However, we may form some idea of it from Comenius's preface and conclusion to Lasitius's eighth book of the History of the Brethren. As long as the war of thirty years, which began in Bohemia, continued, they entertained some hopes of regaining the free exercise of their religion. But when all these hopes were expired at the peace of Westphalia, and the persecution broke out afresh with still greater severity; they were then still more intent upon emigrating into other countries; in which also many hundreds succeeded, notwithstanding all the obstructions laid in their way. Many of them went into Silesia, where they were received, particularly, by the Protestant princes at *Brieg*. Still greater numbers, especially of the Brethren, retired into Poland and Prussia. Most of them went into Saxony and Upper Lusatia, where they, in part, were lost among the rest of the inhabitants; which was also the case
of

of those in the *Erz-Gebirge*, in Vogtland, and in Franconia. Yet some of them formed particular congregations, and even founded new villages; of which the following are taken notice of in the *Historia o Cyrkwj Czeske*, (*The History of the Bohemian Church*,) in manuscript, (part I. chapter iii.) which has been compiled by some Lutheran Bohemians at Berlin.

1. At *Dresden* a Bohemian congregation was begun about the year 1670. *Samuel Martinus*, a Lutheran minister at Prague, came first with several hundred persons of distinction to *Pirna*, from whence the elector took them to Dresden, and made them a grant of St. James's Church*.

2. At *Zittau*, in the very beginning of the persecution, a congregation was gathered, which, in the year 1670, already amounted to 900 souls.

3. *Neusalz* in *Misnia*, so called from lord *De Salza*, not far from the village *Spremberg*, about nine miles from Herrnhut, was also built by the Bohemians about the year 1670, and soon became a considerable town. But in process of time, part of the Bohemians withdrew from thence, and the remainder became so entirely germanized, that, at this day, excepting a very few ancient people, none of them understand the Bohemian tongue. But yet, their minister must, according to the old statutes, be always a native of Bohemia, and preach the sermon at his induction in that language.

* This *Martinus* was an adversary of the Bohemian Brethren, and wanted to compel such of them as were already come to *Pirna*, to abandon their own confession and church-order, and to join his congregation. They defended themselves against him by an apology. Finding he could avail nothing against them by polemical writings, he went to Dresden; and, by the interposition of the court-chaplain, Dr. *Hoe of Hobenek*, procured a mandate from the elector, commanding them either to embrace the Lutheran liturgy, or to quit the country. Some complied, but others were obliged to go again into exile, and repaired to *Lissa* in Poland; among whom was *Paul Fabricius*, who became afterwards a bishop of the Brethren.

4. *Gebhardsdorf*, on the confines of Bohemia, not far from *Greiffenberg* in Silesia.

5. *Etzdorf*, near *Lauban*. Both these places have now only a Bohemian reader.

The village of *Wespen* in the county of *Barby*, or properly *Wes Pane*, (*Herrendorf*) was also built by the Bohemians; but is now grown so totally German, that only very few of them understand the Bohemian language.

Pastor *Augustin Schulz*, Bohemian minister at Berlin and *Rueksdorf*, in the historical Introduction to his Church-Book, still farther makes mention of *Upper* and *Lower Erdmannsdorf* in Upper Lusatia.

So late as in the present century, about the year 1725, considerable colonies of Bohemians were formed at *Gross Hennerdorf* and *Gerlachshiem* in Upper Lusatia. But they, partly in 1732, and partly in 1737, withdrew again, and settled at Berlin.

§ 48.

“ THERE has, indeed,” (writes the above-mentioned *Augustin Schulz* in the place referred to) “ never happened so
 “ large and conspicuous an emigration from Bohemia and
 “ Moravia, at any one time, as that of the Salzburgers
 “ about the year 1730; which amounted to above thirty-
 “ thousand souls: nor could it be, as none compelled the
 “ Bohemian and Moravian lords to suffer all who chose it
 “ to depart with bag and baggage. So far from it, that
 “ these kept a strict watch upon their subjects, lest they
 “ might lose them; and the subjects themselves were
 “ not inclined, till forced to it by the greatest distress of
 “ mind, to seek liberty of conscience with the loss of all
 “ their property, and exposing their persons to the greatest
 “ dangers. And yet, if we could sum up the whole num-
 “ ber of all those who since 1624, either singly, or in small
 “ com-

“ companies, fled at different times into many different countries, their number would be, perhaps, two or three times as large as the emigration from Salzburg.”

“ Touching the care of souls” (proceeds Augustin Schulz in the same place, c. viii.) “ most of these good people fell into the hands of bad shepherds, who were themselves unacquainted with the state of their own souls. They were, for the greatest part, satisfied, if their people lived in a quiet and honest manner, a foundation for which had been laid in Bohemia, through the terror of their consciences. They were applauded as highly blessed, having, with the loss of every thing, embraced the Protestant confession. Their posterity, in a great measure, are degenerated, and have conformed to the manners of those among whom they lived. Since the times of the Bohemian Brethren, to the year 1720, nothing has been heard of any extensive awakening, and much less of any good constitution and care of souls, among the Bohemians.”

§ 49.

How it went with the exiles, descended from the Brethren's congregations, Comenius, about the year 1660, in the Church-History of the Bohemian Brethren, § 126, relates briefly thus :

“ Those, who were dispersed by thousands in the neighbouring kingdoms, that they might remain faithful to God, were either disheartened on account of the hardships of their exile, and did not persevere in their steadfastness ; or, through the long continuance of their tribulations, decreased in such a manner, that at present only a small remnant of us is left.”

In Poland, indeed, they kept to the congregations of the Brethren ; but in other countries they did not obtain permission to settle particular congregations, and to observe

their own order and discipline. Nor were they very much intent upon it; because they always entertained hopes of returning, some time or other, into their own country, and regaining the liberty they had lost. In the mean time, they lost themselves more and more among other nations and religions; and had, at length, so entirely departed from that which was true and real among them, which was even among their ancestors upon the decline, that at last the Bohemian Brethren were hardly known any more, and few of their posterity recollected their descent. Nevertheless, God, who has promised to deal graciously with them that love him and keep his commandments, unto the thousandth generation, according to his mercy, held his hand over them, and awakened many, not only in Bohemia and Moravia, but in every Protestant country in *Germany, Switzerland, Holland, England, Prussia, Poland, Silesia, Hungary, and Transylvania*, whom he brought to the renewed church of the Brethren; and there made use of some of them with blessing; whose names attest it, and who have learned from their parents and grand-parents, that they left Bohemia for the sake of the Gospel*. Many such families have also distinguished themselves, in the places where they dwelt, by their peculiar godly walk and education of their children. These rejoiced heartily at the renewal of grace in Moravia, and wished all prosperity to the revived church of the Brethren.

* This has been particularly the case in Upper Lusatia and in Silesia; where, about the time when the awakening began in Moravia, a great many, whose descent was from Bohemia and Moravia, and who had been quite lost among the Germans, were touched by grace, joined themselves with the rest to the Moravian Brethren, and part of them moved into the congregation-places, or settlements.

§ 50.

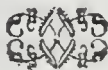
As to the Protestants that staid behind in Bohemia, some few of them willingly received the doctrinal articles of their adversaries; and these few who did, in order to show their zeal, became the worst traitors and most bitter persecutors of the rest. Most of them, and many more than those who forsook their own country, professed them with their mouths; or, at least, conformed outwardly to the church-ceremonies, from fear of death and imprisonment, and out of love to their possessions, though with deep remorse of conscience, which impelled many, as soon as they could find an opportunity, to testify their repentance in the presence of a Protestant congregation, and to desire to be reconciled to them. Possibly, most of them may, by degrees, have become used to this kind of hypocrisy; and the children, whom they were obliged to educate in the religion of the country, grew up in a great measure in ignorance. But many of them hid their Bibles and other Protestant books very carefully, often from their own husbands or wives, from their children and servants whom they could not trust; read them secretly, and, occasionally, edified their families with them. Whenever they travelled into Protestant countries, they received the holy communion, and brought new books with them, notwithstanding the endeavours used to prevent it, and the punishment inflicted upon those with whom they were found. I could, from verbal and written accounts of Brethren who came out of Moravia and Bohemia, relate many things concerning their private meetings, concerning the indulgence of their clergy, and the various expedients used to keep them quiet, and concerning the persecutions and manifold vexations, whereby they endeavoured to bring those who were discovered to a recantation; had I not solid reasons for passing them over in silence.

Now, although a great number of them fell asleep, and all means were used totally to extinguish the sparks covered with ashes ; yet the Lord still has known how to preserve a multitude of secret disciples, and, very probably, more than the seven thousand in the days of Elias ; and has made use of precisely the same methods to preserve and propagate the truth, by which the adversaries sought to destroy it and them.

As long as the Protestant lords could venture to reside in Moravia and Bohemia, which continued no longer than the year 1628, the remaining Protestants were not without opportunities of edifying themselves in fellowship ; for the domestic tutors of such lords were mostly teachers and ministers of the church. As these tutors performed divine service in the mansion-houses of the lords, their Protestant vassals partook of this privilege. Yea, according to the account given by *George Holyk*, who was a Bohemian minister, these meetings for edification in the chapels of the mansion-houses continued in some places till the year 1650 and longer. The holy communion was also administered, but in great secrecy. After the total expulsion of the Protestant lords, the hidden Brethren were visited, and ministered unto with the word and sacraments, by ministers of the Unity from Upper Silesia. They were, more especially, visited by ministers of the Brethren from *Skalitz* in *Hungary*, to which place many of the expelled Brethren, and also ministers of the Unity, had retired at the beginning of the war of thirty years. At their visits in the district of *Fulnek*, they were secreted, during their stay, by *Martin Schneider* and *Tanneberger*. These visits having been discovered, the said two men were cast into prison, and should have been executed ; which, however, was prevented by a wonderful interposition of God. The sons of *Martin Schneider* endeavoured, to the utmost of their power, after the departure of their father, to keep up and further the work of God. *Comenius* laboured unweariedly at a distance, for the edification of the Brethren left behind in his native country.

He

He did this by several printed books, as, *Ratio Disciplinæ et Ordinis ecclesiastici in Unitate Fratrum*; the German and Bohemian Hymn-Books of the Brethren; *Manuale Biblicum*; the Catechism of the Brethren, &c. These books he sent by faithful assistants both to the scattered Brethren, and to those yet remaining in their native country. He especially used to this purpose, about the year 1663, the service of *John Kopulansky*, who visited in Moravia, Hungary, and Poland.



1. The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the United States. It is argued that a knowledge of the past is essential for a full understanding of the present and for the development of a sound policy for the future. The author points out that the study of history is not only a means of satisfying a natural curiosity about the past, but also a means of developing a sense of responsibility for the future.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

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THE
MODERN HISTORY
OF THE
BRETHREN.

PART I.

From the Awakening among the Brethren in Bohemia and Moravia, and their Emigration in 1722, to the Renewal of the Unity of the Brethren in 1727.

§ 1.

AT the beginning of the eighteenth century, just about the year 1701, a new emotion took place in Bohemia, which spread in many places. Such as lived on the confines of Silesia made use of the liberty, which, about the year 1706, was procured for the Protestants in Silesia by the convention with the king of Sweden, and went often thither to church. But this liberty being again abridged about the year 1717, a more vigilant eye was kept upon the Bohemians too. Many of them emigrated, and settled among their own country-people in Upper Lusatia; and even built here and there places for themselves, where they dwelt alone. True it is, that most of them contented themselves with the external free exercise of their religion.

But yet, there were, in several places, souls earnestly concerned for a true change of heart and the assurance of salvation; although they knew not wherein it consisted, or how to obtain it.

The first solid awakening took place, as far as we know, about the year 1720, precisely one hundred years after the beginning of the persecution and devastation of the Bohemian church *. These awakenings began at the same time among the posterity of the Brethren, in the country about *Fulnek* in Moravia, and in the lordships of *Leutmischel* and *Landscron*, where *Lititz* lies, in Bohemia, without their knowing any thing of each other. Both these districts, as appears from the *Ancient History of the Brethren*, § 13, were, from the beginning, principal seats of the Unity of the Brethren. Indeed, we will not deny the existence of new and special awakenings in several other parts of Bohemia, of which we meet with charming traces here and there. But yet, I must here confine myself purely to the awakening in Moravia, from whence sprang the renewed church of the Brethren; and shall only, from time to time, mention so much of the awakening and emigration out of Bohemia, as is subservient to the elucidation of the main subject.

* It is well worthy of observation, that the principal events in the Bohemian church, and particularly with respect to the suppression and renewal of the same, have commonly occurred one hundred years after certain great revolutions. In the years 1415 and 1416, the witnesses of the truth, *Huss* and *Jerom*, sealed their testimony with martyrdom. In 1517 God raised up the great witness *Luther*. In 1609 the Bohemians obtained the Imperial grant for the free exercise of their religion; and about the year 1709, they took breath again, by obtaining church-liberty in Silesia. In 1617 began the oppressions in Bohemia; and in 1717 their resort to Silesia was cut off. After the battle in 1620, the Bohemians lost their liberty; and in 1720 the awakening began to break out among them. In 1624 and 1627, the Unity in Bohemia was totally destroyed; and in 1724 and 1727 it was again renewed.

§ 2.

IN *Fulnek*, formerly the cure of Comenius, the last Bohemian-Moravian bishop, and in the circumjacent villages, a numerous seed of the Brethren still lay hid; who, though obliged outwardly to conform by degrees to the worship of the established religion; yet in stillness preserved and often read the holy scriptures, the Brethren's hymn-book, and other edifying books of their fore-fathers, and also of the Lutherans and Reformed. Every morning and evening, especially on a Sunday, they assembled themselves, not without the knowledge of the magistrates. They governed their families according to the order handed down to them from their fathers. They even had the holy communion in secret. But they suffered, from time to time, a strict examination, were punished, and deprived of such books as they could not conceal. The inhabitants of this town talk to this day of *Picards*, and relate, that their last minister *Amos* (Comenius), whom they call a wise and a learned man, had, during the Spanish war, or the war of thirty years, retired into Holland and England. They also show the house where he preached; which, after a great fire, has been rebuilt for a hospital for men, still bearing the name of *Zbor*, the *Assembly*, or, the Meeting-house.

According to the accounts of the Brethren, which they have received from their fathers, the church at *Zauchtenthal*, near *Fulnek*, was the last which was taken away from them. The Romish priests had promised the Brethren, in order gradually to gain them over, or to lull them asleep, to administer the Lord's supper to them in both kinds; and, to this end, made use of the rinsing of the cup, commonly called, the *rinsé-cup*. But even this having been withheld from them, they administered the holy communion in stillness among themselves.

Among the ancient men, who kept up the meetings of the Brethren, maintained truth in the inward parts among them,
and

and comforted them with the hopes of an approaching renewal of the church of the Brethren; *Martin Schneider* of *Zauchtenthal*, and the *Zeisbergers* and *Jaeschkes* of *Sehlen*, who lived at the time of the great dispersion, are still in blessed memory. After their decease, *Samuel Schneider*, who, about the year 1710, departed this life with great joy, and the *Nitschmanns*, continued the meetings, and, in conjunction with their assistants in the circumjacent villages, kept up brotherly fellowship. In the years following, they were forced to have their meetings in much greater privacy, and at last, to confine them entirely to family-devotions. Upon this, many fell asleep. The apprehension of incurring danger and detriment, the loss of their goods, fines and imprisonment, or the flatteries of the world, had such influence, that they conformed themselves to it more and more; and, although with incessant remorse of conscience, complied with the usual ceremonies of the established church. This was the state of affairs in Moravia, when God heard the prayer, which Comenius had made upon his flight a century before, when upon the mountains, having once more turned his eyes towards his orphan-flock in and about *Fulnek*, he with his company fell down, and supplicated everlasting Mercy, that he would, however, be pleased not to depart from them, but in his own time to visit them again.

§ 3.

There were, among others, in the village of *Sehlen* five own brothers, the *Neissers*, who, pursuant to an exhortation of their dying grandfather, to adhere to the true doctrine, together with their cousins, the *Jaeschkes*, as also with the *Schneiders*, the *Nitschmanns*, and others, in *Zauchtenthal* and the rest of the villages, met often with a view to mutual edification by the word of God. A discharged soldier from Silesia brought them, in 1715, several books for edification, and made them acquainted with the Lutheran ministers

ministers at the Protestant tolerated church at *Teschen*; whose preaching they afterwards often attended with blessing. But God made chiefly use of the late *Christian David*, as the blessed instrument in his hand amongst his own country-people, through whom not only a new fire of the love of Jesus was enkindled in many hearts in *Moravia*; but the following emigration of so many families was promoted. He had, several years before, left *Senfleben* in *Moravia*, and attended, on his travels, the divine service in the Lutheran church at *Berlin*. In *Goerliz*, where he worked at his trade as a carpenter, he had been powerfully awakened through the sermons and the conversation of the Rev. Mr. *Schaefer*, and also of the Rev. Mr. *Schwedler* of *Niederwiese*. In the year 1717, he came to the before-mentioned descendents of the ancient Brethren, and inquired what was the aim of their particular meetings. He conversed with them about the true conversion of the heart, and directed them how to read the Bible to a profitable purpose, advising them at the same time to fervent prayer. They, thus, obtained a greater knowledge of themselves, and an earnest and sincere purpose of mind to be truly converted. But as they, in their situation at that time, could expect no furtherance, but rather mere hinderances, they besought him to procure them a reception in some Protestant country. Mean while that he gave himself much and fruitless trouble about this, they attended the sermons in the tolerated Protestant church at *Teschen*; and, in 1720, became in particular acquainted with that blessed servant of God, *John Adam Steinmetz*, afterwards abbot of the Protestant cloister of *Bergen*. He dissuaded them from an emigration out of *Moravia*, alledging that they would every where meet with great corruption, with hinderances to their conversion, and with persecutions, which were the lot of genuine Christians. And as *Christian David* himself could find no one who would venture to receive them, they were deeply distressed.

§ 4.

AT length, *Christian David*, by means of the Rev. Mr. *Schaefer* at *Goerliz*, and the student *John Andrew Rothe*, at that time private tutor to baron *De Schweinitz* of *Leube*, became acquainted with *Nicholas Lewis*, count of *Zinzendorf* and *Pottendorf*; who, after his return from his travels, in May 1721, intended to purchase an estate in the neighbourhood of his grand-mother, lady *De Gersdorf* of *Grofs Hennerdorf*, relict of the president of the privy-council, and lord-lieutenant of Upper Lusatia, by whom he had been educated. The count's design in this was, to labour, in conjunction with some pious minister, for the salvation of the souls of his subjects. He had pitched upon *Middle* and *Lower Bertholdsdorf*, belonging to his grand-mother, which border upon *Grofs Hennerdorf*, another estate of her's. He obtained it from her with much difficulty, as her inclination was rather to see him employed at court, than spending his time in the country. Scarce was the deed of conveyance executed, when the then incumbent, from whom he could promise himself no encouragement and support in a design of so salutary a nature, departed this life. In his place, on the day when he received the homage of his subjects, being May 19th, 1722, he presented the before-mentioned student *Rothe* to the living; having, some time ago, conceived a very good opinion of him, and being prepossessed in his favour on account of his unfeigned piety and singular talent in preaching*. Upon this, the count returned to *Dresden*, where he, in 1721, in obedience to his grand-mother, had accepted a post in the administration.

* In his vocation are these memorable words: "In me you shall find rather a faithful assistant and dear brother, than a patron.—Do you carefully see to it, that you help me thus to labour in the Lord, &c."

To this nobleman, whose grand-father had left Austria for the sake of the gospel, and who, even in the tenth year of his age, had formed the resolution of becoming a preacher of the gospel, though, for the present, in compliance with the will of his relations, he was obliged to alter it; was *Christian David* led in the year 1721, by an especial direction of Divine Providence, to solicit a reception of some Moravian families. He obtained for answer, that they might come whenever they pleased; he should endeavour to provide for them in such places, where their emigration should be attended with no disturbances; and that he would, meanwhile, receive them at Bertholdsdorf. But his endeavours were in vain. *He* was the very person they were destined for, in order that, through this seed of the blessed of the Lord, the work, which God had designed to execute through him among Christians and Heathens, should be promoted.

§ 5.

UPON this intelligence, the two brothers *Augustin* and *Jacob Neisser*, cutlers by trade, with their wives and four children, their cousin *Michael Jaeschke*, and a girl, *Martina Neisser*, daughter of the sister of *Augustin Neisser's* wife, set out on their journey, on the Wednesday in Whitfun-week 1722; and, under the guidance of *Christian David*, came, without any molestation, to the Rev. Mr. Schwedler, at *Niederwiese*, and from thence to the Rev. Mr. Schaefer at Goerliz. Having been there entertained for a week, *Christian David* and the two *Neissers* were, with a letter of recommendation written by the student *Rothe* to Mr. *Marche*, sent to *Groß Hennerdorf*, where they arrived on the 8th of June. This gentleman presented them to the count's grand-mother. Mr. *Heitz*, master of the count's household, mentioned their arrival to the count, then at *Dresden*, and wrote June 10th, among other things, as follows:

H

" Her

“ Her ladyship dispatched them immediately hither to
 “ *Bertholdsdorf**, giving them a billet addressed to me;
 “ signifying, where she thought it would be best for them
 “ to build their houses, and that I should promise these
 “ people all possible assistance towards their settlement. But
 “ these good people were at present only in quest of a re-
 “ treat, which they, with their wives and children, might
 “ creep into for shelter, till the houses should be built; which
 “ Mr. *Rothe* also begs for in the letter he sent by them to
 “ me.” He, thereupon, farther informs us, that, having
 appointed them a place on that part of the estate, called,
 The *Lehngrut*, and, whilst they were gone to fetch their
 wives and children, consulted lady *Gersdorf* at *Hennersdorf*
 about the farther steps to be taken in this affair; upon which
 it was found proper that they should settle rather upon some
 spot by themselves, than in the village. To this end, and
 with a view to their support, he had proposed to them the di-
 strict near the *Hutberg*, on the high road to *Zittau*; and to
 the objection that there was no water there, he answered,
God is able to help: that the next morning, before sun-rise,
 he went to the said place, to observe the rising of the va-
 pours, in order to conclude from thence, where a well might
 be dug. “ The morning after that, (writes he) I did the
 “ same, when there was not a person near me. I laid the

* Mr. *Marche*, then private tutor to a young lady *De Gersdorf*, afterwards bookseller in *Goerliz*, and who died in 1768 at *Herrnhut*; has, among other things, related to me, that he himself conducted these Moravians to *Bertholdsdorf*; but, having missed his way in the wood, came to the very spot where *Herrnhut* now stands. Upon which it recurred to his mind, that once, riding out with count *Zinzendorf*, in the year 1717, when the latter greatly extolled the Institutions of *Halle*; he told him, “ Here would also once such an Institution be established;” that, for this reason, he gave the Moravians his advice to settle upon that spot. But they showed no inclination for it, because it was at that time a very wild and boggy place, where nothing grew but wild bramble-bushes and brakes, and where the carriages of the waggoners often stuck fast.

“ misery

“ misery and desire of these people before God with many
 “ tears; beseeching him, that his hand might be with me,
 “ and frustrate my measures, if they were any way displeas-
 “ ing to him.—I said farther to him, ‘ Upon this spot I
 “ will in thy Name build the first house for them.’ In the
 “ mean time the Moravians came with their families to the
 “ farm-house, (Lehngut) whom I assisted to the best of my
 “ power, and then went to Hennerdorf to acquaint my
 “ lady with the resolution I had taken. She made no ob-
 “ jection, and immediately sent the poor strangers a cow,
 “ that they might be furnished with milk for their little
 “ children; and ordered me to show them the trees to be
 “ cut down for their building.”

Upon this, he farther relates, that they would have liked better to build in the village; but that he, with Mr. Marche, having brought them to the aforementioned spot, showed them every advantage for building and for their future livelihood. This was very agreeable to Mr. Marche, as well as to Christian David, the carpenter. The former encouraged them, and, upon one of their women’s objecting, where they were to get water in this wilderness? he replied, *If ye will believe, ye shall see the glory of God in this desert place.* Christian David, striking his carpenter’s axe into a tree on the same spot, uttered these words, *Here hath the sparrow found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself; even thine altars, O Lord of hosts!*

§ 6.

THUS the timber being appointed them, they, on the 17th of June, felled the first tree for the first house in *Herrnhut*. “ They are now (writes Mr. Heitz to the count, July 8th) “ full of courage and chearfulness, intending,
 “ even before winter, to build an house for themselves, and
 “ to do all the carpenter’s work themselves, without the
 H 2 “ assistance

“ assistance of any other person.” And this they effected, amidst all poverty and weakness of body: for they were obliged to put up with very spare and low food; and, amidst many a taunt of the travellers passing by, they trusted with a living confidence in that very God who led Abraham, whilst he was yet alone, out of his own country, and from amongst his own kindred, into a strange country, multiplying him into a numerous people, and making him a blessing to many nations. Nor could Christian David, Mr. Marche, and the Rev. Mr. Schaefer refrain, upon occasion, to intimate such hopes to others. The first showed those friends who came to see the building, the future streets of the city; and the last, in his sermon preached on the induction of the Rev. Mr. Rothe on the 30th of August, made use of these words, “ God will set up a light on this hill, which shall shine through the whole country. Of this I am confidently assured*.”

October 7th they entered their first house, and about Martinmas Mr. Heitz delivered a discourse at the dedication of it, on Isa. lxii. 6, 7.

I will † set watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem! which shall never hold their peace day nor night: ye that make mention of the Lord, keep not silence; and give him no rest, till he establish, and till he make Jerusalem a praise in the earth.

All present were much affected, and Christian David concluded with a fervent prayer, and with the hymn, *Jerusalem, God's city thou, &c.*

Thus the beginning of the building of *Herrnhut* was made in the absence of the count, and, in a great measure, without his knowledge or having any hand in it. An account of it, 'tis true, was given him; but, by a petition from the exiles, that he would receive them on his domain, it appears, that he took no right cogni-

* See the letter of introduction, written by the count; in which, among other things, he exhorts the Moravians to prove a salt among his subjects. *Buedingen-Collection*, Vol. I. p. 667.

† According to Luther's version.

zance of the matter, till after his return from *Ebersdorf*, where he had espoused, on the 7th of September, the countess *Erdmuth Dorothea Reufs*. For when, on the 21st of December, he was conducting his lady to *Hennerdorf*; and, having descried from the road an house in the wood, he signified his surprise, but also his satisfaction; went in to these Moravians, and, bidding them welcome, fell with them upon his knees, and prayed. Soon after, he moved into his newly erected mansion-house at *Bertholdsdorf*.

The name of *Herrnhut* took, likewise, its rise from the master of the household, who concluded his report to the count the 8th of July, with these words:

“ God has given Mr. Marche great courage to engage in
“ this work. May he bless it, according to his loving-
“ kindness, and grant that your Excellency may build a
“ city on the hill, called the *Hutberg*, [that is, *Watch-Hill*]
“ which may not only stand under the guardianship and
“ watch of the Lord; but where even all the inhabitants
“ may stand upon *the Watch of the Lord*, (*des Herrn Hut*)
“ so, that they may not hold their peace day nor night.”
But yet this name was not current till 1724, when the minister, by occasion of praying at church for a pregnant woman, publicly made use of the appellation *Herrnhut*.

§ 7.

IN the mean time an awakening began at *Bertholdsdorf* among the inhabitants, through the zealous sermons of the Rev. Mr. *Rothe*, the meetings for edification held by Mr. *Heitz*, master of the count's household, and Christian David's assiduous exhortations. Several awakened souls from other places joined the Moravian exiles; amongst whom I will only mention lady *Joanna De Zetzschwitz*, afterwards baroness *De Watteville*. This lady took some girls from other places under her inspection for education, and thereby laid

the foundation of the *Oeconomy** of girls at Bertholdsdorf, and afterwards at Herrnhut. Thus the count already found a company of twelve persons, who desired to experience that which the Head of his church has promised to his members: *Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.* Soon after, baron *Frederic De Watteville* arrived from Switzerland, who had, already in the *Pædagogium* at Halle, entered into a covenant with the count, to be the property of our Saviour, and to serve him in his kingdom among Christians and Heathens. Among these first persons, count *Zinzendorf*, baron *Watteville*, the Rev. Mr. *Schaefer* of Goerliz, and the Rev. Mr. *Rothe* of Bertholdsdorf, more especially bound themselves to promote the kingdom of God in their own and other places, wheresoever the Providence of God should give them an opportunity. *An History of the four united Brethren* is extant in manuscript, which gave rise to the *Special History of a little Household of Grace, which took place in the last times of the Church*, being the first *Appendix to Lewis count of Zinzendorf's Natural Reflexions* περί ἐξουτῆς.

These were the small beginnings of that Household of Grace, which afterwards, like the *grain of mustard-seed*, Mark iv. 31, 32. became a *tree*, in whose branches many thousands of Christians and Heathens have found a secure habitation and a salutary pasture for their souls.

§ 8.

THE emigration of the two *Neiffers* from Moravia involved their three brothers, *George, Hans, and Wenzel*, who remained behind, in great difficulties, being made responsible for them, and required to declare what was become of them: upon which they were imprisoned. As soon as they were released, they requested permission of their lords, the

* This is the name usually given to the Schools of the Brethren. (The Editor.)

Jesuits of Olmuetz, to emigrate. But, instead of obtaining it, they were threatened with being imprisoned again and put into the Inquisition. Upon this, leaving all their possessions, they followed their brothers in stilness, in the month of August 1723, with their families, ten in number. Mr. Heitz obtained permission of the count to build the needful houses for these poor people also. They in the beginning found it very hard to maintain themselves with the work of their own hands: and yet, they were full of courage and faith.

Towards Christmas 1723, Christian David set out again for Moravia, and visited, this time, also in the other villages where descendents from the ancient Brethren lived. By his conversations a great emotion was occasioned in the whole district, and especially at *Zauchtenthal* and *Kunewald*; to which, amongst other things, the powerful testimonies of *David* and *Melchior Nitschmann*, who frequently held meetings the whole night through, greatly contributed. But the latter suffered a severe imprisonment on that account. In several places they came together by hundreds, singing, praying, and “speaking concerning Jesus, and concerning the everlasting mercy of the Father, which, through the Son and his cross and death, had flowed upon mankind, and which must be sealed by the Holy Ghost. This was the sole foundation of these lively heroes.—Little children, which could scarcely talk, lifting their hands up to heaven, cried to the everlasting Love, &c.” as it is expressed in the *Newest Account of the History of the Bohemian Brethren*, § 30. 32. The ancient people were still more animated by the singing and praying of the children, and by their incessant importunities to turn with them to Jesus; and the uncommonly joyful departure of a little girl out of time, inflamed them with desire of obtaining the assurance of the forgiveness of sins, and of salvation.

§ 9.

THIS awakening, and the numerous meetings of the people, made a great noise. They were summoned before their superiors, and threatened with galley-slavery and capital punishments; and many actually suffered hard imprisonment, and others, severe corporal punishments. However, these proceedings had only the effect of bringing more upon the resolution to emigrate. The first were five young and lively men, namely, *three David Nitschmanns, John Toeltschig, and Melchior Zeisberger.* They were, May 1st 1724, brought before the court, and threatened with imprisonment, if they did not desist from meeting together. To avoid this, they took the resolution of leaving the country in the night of the succeeding day. Having got out of the village, they, falling upon their knees, recommended themselves, and their Brethren left behind, to the preservation and providence of God, and then joyfully entered upon their pilgrimage; singing the hymn, *Bless'd day when I must depart, &c.* which their forefathers had sung an hundred years before upon their exile. To prevent their being overtaken, they took their way over a ridge of pathless mountains. Their view was, to seek children of God; and they expected to meet with such in all the Lutheran villages. But their enquiries and discourse were not acceptable. They were reproachfully called *Pietists*, and threatened to be informed against, and delivered up. Even sincere persons were afraid to have any thing to do with them. Such treatment had almost induced them to turn back. Their first design was to have gone into Poland, and, in case they should find no Bohemian Brethren there, to go into Holland, where their last bishop Comenius had finished his race; but they resolved upon the road, first to visit their Brethren out of Moravia, now in Saxony, and particularly Christian David, he having

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proved a great blessing and encouragement to them. In Niederwiese the Rev. Mr. Schwedler received them with much joy and love. They were greatly encouraged by his hearty prayer, his address to them full of faith, and representation of their descent from a church of martyrs; and confirmed in their hope of meeting with still more children of God. Thus they arrived at Herrnhut on the 12th of May.

§ 10.

HERE the Brethren were just upon the point of laying the foundation of a great house, in which the united friends of the count intended to establish an institution for the education of children of the noblesse, for printing at a cheap rate the bible and other edifying books, and for good medicines for the service of their neighbours; in which house was afterwards the meeting-hall of the congregation at Herrnhut. The count, who was lately come from Dresden on a visit, was prevailed upon to consent in this undertaking, although he was well aware that an enterprize of this nature, made in imitation of another flourishing and blessed institution, would expose him to much envy and evil report: which, having accordingly ensued, soon put a stop to the designs which were not agreeable to their original plan. The count came from Hennersdorf with the Rev. Mr. Schaefer to the laying this foundation-stone at Herrnhut. When the five Brethren out of Moravia, who were just then arrived, were presented to him, they (as one of them writes in his account) were ready to call his piety in question; because he, in their opinion, received both them and the commendatory letter from Mr. Schwedler with far too much coolness and indifference. They went, however, with the other inhabitants, to the building-place. The count opened the solemnity with an uncommonly emphatical discourse,

concerning the design of this structure ; wishing, among other things, that God would either prevent it, or soon bring it again to nought, should it not prove conducive to the promotion of his glory. “ This expression ” (as it is said in the above account) “ filled us with an holy awe ; and when, “ directly after, baron Watteville kneeled on the foundation- “ stone, and, amidst many tears of all present, offered up “ such an heart-affecting prayer, as we never had heard “ before, we were perfectly convinced that this was the “ very spot our feet were to rest upon.” Hereupon the celebrated Mr. *Milde*, amanuensis to professor *Franke* at Halle, who was also just come to this solemnity, struck up the *Te Deum laudamus* with a joyful voice.

§ II.

THESE five just-mentioned Brethren from *Zauchtenthal* had, from the relation of their fathers and grand-fathers, and from the ancient hymns of the Brethren, still retained an idea and impression of the church-constitution of their forefathers in Bohemia and Moravia ; of which they soon began to speak at Herrnhut. They insisted upon it, that the salutary discipline and order of their fathers ought to be renewed. When they happened to come into a controversy on this head with the other inhabitants and neighbours ; and the count, the *Rev.* Mr. *Rothe*, and other friends, would not, according to their insight at that time, agree with and assist them in it ; they called every thing in question, and were in the beginning several times ready to take up their staves, and to go farther. This induced the count to enquire more particularly into the history and constitution of the ancient church of the Brethren ; and this proved the occasion to the subsequent regulations at Herrnhut, as we shall see hereafter. Consequently these five Brethren are to be considered as the in-

struments which the Lord used to the renewal of the church of the Brethren. They all had afterwards the most important functions in it committed to them, except one of the aforesaid three Nitschmanns, who ended his race on Maundy-Thursd. 1729 in prison, after three years confinement for the sake of the gospel, which he attempted to bring to his country-people in Moravia. Some of the five Brethren labour still in different congregations with blessing*.

Soon after, more followed them, and, among the rest, the young witness of Jesus, *Melchior Nitschmann*, mentioned in § 8, who, on account of the meetings he held in Moravia, had been a long time in prison, and was there treated most unmercifully; but was at length set free with derision. He came to Herrnhut Dec. 24th, 1724; and was in 1727 one of the first elders of the congregation. *David Nitschmann*, the father of this faithful witness, who in 1758 departed at *Bethlehem* in Pennsylvania, a venerable patriarch, in the 84th year of his age; and his fellow-prisoner *David Schneider*, whose forefathers had been ministers of the Brethren, and, after the dispersion, witnesses of the truth; disengaged themselves in a wonderful manner from their fetters, and escaped into Silesia. The former sent for his wife and his two youngest children, *John* and *Anna*, and arrived at Herrnhut Feb. 24th, 1725. But the latter was obliged to wait some time for his family, during which interval he was prevailed upon by various persuasions to settle at Sorau, and to accept of a school, until, through a greater increase of the Brethren who had emigrated, both as to number and grace, and through a concern for the salvation of his children, he was induced to join the despised, and even then derided, little flock at Herrnhut; as he himself has related in an *Account of God's Dealings with him, till the Year 1734*.

* At this time but one of these five Brethren is alive. (The Editor.)

§ 12.

AN oath, as a religious test, which they, from that time, would impose upon all suspected persons in Moravia, induced many more to seek their liberty. Those who sought nothing but the salvation of their souls, and, on that account, forsook their possessions, parents or children, friends and relations, were favoured with such success, that they were often able to free themselves from their chains in a wonderful manner, to leap from an high prison without hurt, to pass through the guards undiscovered in the open day, or to run away and hide themselves from them. Were they stopped on the road, the upright representation of the true end of their emigrating, and the piteous cries of their children, had such an effect, that they were suffered to pass. These were willingly received by their poor Brethren at Herrnhut. They learned, amidst diligent labour, and with the blessing of God, to forget by degrees, and be content without, their partly great and rich farms, and found opportunities of fetching away, without discovery, their parents, husbands or wives, children, and brothers and sisters, notwithstanding their being strictly watched. One, *Hans Nitschmann*, fetched out his sister with a child of eighteen days old. An apprentice-boy, *Frederic Boehnisch*, took a great round through the Empire and Austria, on his way back into Moravia, and brought out his parents, with his brothers and sisters; and a widow, whose name was *Berger*, who, upon her flight in an hard winter, could take only one child with her, being obliged to leave the least behind, went, several years after, and fetched that child too. But those who secretly disposed of their property, and took the money with them, or wanted to go off with loaded waggons, were frequently either betrayed, or, when they had got half way on their journey, stopped, and brought back again, or plundered of their

their effects. One of these, *Frederic Riedel*, having been half killed by robbers, was forced, being abandoned of all men, to travel above one hundred and twenty miles with about three pence in his pocket. If any came to Herrnhut without a purity of intention, not on account of the salvation of his soul, either from temporal views, or without a solid conviction, by persuasion, or in imitation of others; he was, after being entertained for some time, sent home again furnished with the needful expences for his journey, and an intercession to the magistrate on his behalf. For all new-comers were strictly examined about the true motives and circumstances of their leaving their own country, and their answers were minuted down by the court of judicature, in order that, if an enquiry should be made concerning the reception of foreign subjects, as might naturally be expected, a legal and satisfactory evidence could be given.

§ 13.

SUCH strictness was observed with all the new-comers from Moravia, in order to prevent any numerous and tumultuary emigrations. Thus continued the first emigration in stillness, amidst many wonderful circumstances, untill 1733; and yet produced some hundreds of confessors, who were indubitable descendents from the Brethren, and acknowledged so to be by their bishops of that time. The count who, till 1727, was mostly absent at Dresden, thought in the beginning, that only a few families of Protestants intended to settle on his domain, to whom he would not refuse his protection. But when it appeared that the emigration would increase, as some went, without his knowledge and consent, back into Moravia, in order to bring out their relations, on account of which many were put in prison, and which gave reason to apprehend that government would resent it; he not only signified his scruples, but also forbade,
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in 1724, that any should go into Moravia, and instigate others to an emigration; which he afterwards frequently repeated. But he could not, during his absence, absolutely restrain every one from showing this greatest act of kindness to his relations; nor could he even in conscience do it. To bring, however, this affair into proper order, he himself, in 1726, took a journey to *Krasitz* in Moravia, to the cardinal bishop of *Olmütz*, and declared in a conference with the cardinal's brother, the Imperial privy-counsellor *Dr. Scharffenbach*, upon what ground, and in what manner, he had hitherto received people out of Moravia. He then interceded in behalf of these people oppressed on account of their religion*; urging that, in order to keep them in the country, they might, amidst the want of the free exercise of religion, show them, however, some indulgence, and not deprive such, as could not act against their conscience, of their property and liberty. To this he received for answer, that it was out of their power to show these people any indulgence; but it was the will of his Imperial Majesty, that they should not be hindered from emigrating in silence. But such as returned with a view to instigate others to depart, must needs take the consequences. The count promised that no occasion should be given for it on his side. The event has shown, that both he and the government of Moravia have kept their word; though this agreement has not always been observed by the inferior magistrates.

§ 14.

BUT yet, not even all the Brethren in the beginning could be restrained by this agreement, and by the repeated prohibition of the count; for they went secretly into

* He did the same for the imprisoned *David Nussbaum*; who, having arrived at Herrnhut on the 10th of May 1721, had, upon his visit in Moravia, been taken up. But as he could effect nothing, he, however, by permission of the magistrates, had something conveyed to him for his present refreshment.

Moravia, to deliver at least their nearest relations. As to Christian David, who may be called an apostolical man in his way, and who esteemed his impulse, to help the Protestants to their freedom, as a divine call; he was so far from being prevailed upon by all the brotherly admonitions and warnings given him, that he still went several times into Moravia, though in evident danger of his life, and amidst amazing instances of the divine protection, in order to awaken the Brethren, who were fallen asleep, to a sense of the truth. In the year 1725, he took his route through Bohemia, in order to see whether any seed was left in the district of *Lititz*, the first seat of the Unity. And behold, he met with many Bohemians in some villages of the territories of *Landšcran* and *Leutmischel*, who had been awakened about the same time when the awakening began in Moravia, without knowing any thing of it. He did not endeavour to draw them out, but only to confirm them in their good mind and search after the truth, leaving them to Providence and to the impulse of their own hearts, as to the time and manner of their seeking and finding the way to freedom. But, by the hard tribulations following immediately upon it, they became faint in their minds, and many of them fell asleep again; till, in the year 1730, by occasion of the imprisonment of a Moravian Brother from *Herrnhut*, a new life sprung up among them, when many in stillness emigrated to *Gerlachshcim* in Upper Lusatia, and joined the Moravian Brethren, till in 1737 they found themselves under a necessity of going farther to Berlin and *Rueksdorf* *. This emigration, however, must not be confounded with that great one of the Bohemians about the year 1726 to *Groß Hennersdorf*, and in 1732 farther to Berlin.

* Out of the *Life and Church-book* of their then minister *Augustin Schulz*; as also out of their subsequent minister *Zacharias Gelinek's Historical Account of their Awakening, Emigration, &c.* in manuscript, out of which more will be mentioned in its place.

§ 15.

IN the mean time, many differences about doctrines had arisen at Herrnhut. Some of the emigrants had in their own country read Lutheran, and others, Calvinistical books. They, therefore, differed first in 1723 upon the article of *Election*, and the ceremonies at the Lord's supper. This difference, however, was, by the mediation of baron De Watteville, the more easily adjusted, as the count's master of the household, Mr. Heitz, a very worthy and faithful man in other respects, who was strenuously attached to the Calvinistical system, resigned his place this very year. The count had, Nov. 7th, 1723, the joy, for the first time, of receiving the holy communion in the church with twenty-three of these people from Herrnhut.

But many well-meaning persons of different persuasions came, from time to time, both out of the neighbourhood and from more remote places, to live at Herrnhut, bringing various opinions with them; whence new differences arose. The count, in conjunction with the parish-minister, endeavoured to remove them, in several doctrinal conferences, held for that end in 1725 with all the inhabitants. After a conversation of three hours, he succeeded, on the 12th of May, in uniting these jarring minds; convincing them of the evangelical doctrine, and preserving them from a separation from the established Protestant church. To this, the grace and power which they experienced in their hearts, through the edifying sermons of the parish-minister, and the repetitions of the count, who faithfully and with much blessing seconded the labours of the minister, greatly contributed; insomuch, that they readily conformed to all the rites of the public worship.

But, during the count's absence in Moravia, in the year 1726, and afterwards at Dresden, a certain lawyer, who favoured separatistical principles, being come from Vogtland to Herrnhut, drew, by his extraordinary appearance
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of sanctity, unblamableness and devotion, most of the inhabitants, and even dear Christian David himself, to his side. This caused such distraction, that they fell into several parties about divers notions in doctrine, and exercises in the order of salvation; and moreover, about various proposals for a regulative among themselves. The minister, though else a very sensible and sincere man, endeavoured to compose and remove these confusions with more zeal than prudence; not only by his earnest addresses, but also by public refutations. But all he effected by it, was, that most of them absented themselves from the church and the holy communion; and many of the Moravian Brethren, who had left all their possessions for the sake of liberty of conscience, and would not, as they termed it, submit to a new compulsion of conscience, prepared to take up their staves and travel farther, in quest of liberty of conscience elsewhere.

§ 16.

THE count, against whom most of them were no less imbittered, than against the minister, seeking to preserve this little flock of faithful confessors of the truth, who had only been imposed upon by a false appearance, in the fellowship of the Protestant church, and to prevent an entire separation, or even as many hurtful sects as there were heads, did not content himself with sending from Dresden, in March 1727, to Herrnhut a declaration against the erroneous doctrines that were creeping in; but soon after obtained, from the government at Dresden, leave of absence for some months, repaired to Herrnhut, and disposed the minister, who could no longer yield to the incensed minds of the people, and had entirely lost their confidence, to commit the cure of the Moravian Brethren to him. He examined into the origin and ground of this confusion, spoke with each person individually concerning the state of
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their hearts, and discoursed at the public meetings on the only ground of our salvation. He avoided entering into the merits of the several notions, and, wisely yielding to them in the external form, only endeavoured, first of all, to establish among them an union in the fundamental truths of the Protestant religion. In this manner, after many public and private interviews, in which he manifested an inexpressible love, patience and condescension, he succeeded so far, that, on the 12th of May, after a discourse of three hours, they all united together, and gave their approbation to the statutes read to them, by giving their hands. These statutes, or this voluntary agreement concerning certain points of doctrine, moral conduct, and ecclesiastical and civil constitution, which had hitherto been controverted, were drawn up by the count, the Rev. Mr. Rothe, and Mr. Marche, the president of the court of judicature, afterwards burgomaster of Budissin, with the concurrence of the most considerable inhabitants of Herrnhut. They were on the 8th of July once more ratified, and on the 12th of August signed by all the inhabitants.

§ 17.

FROM this time, they kept again to the church at Bertholdsdorf, and whoever could not go thither, attended the repetition, which was delivered at Herrnhut partly by the count, and partly by the Rev. Mr. Rothe. But as this new settlement, both for its spiritual and temporal subsistence, required a special regulation, which the Moravian Brethren in particular urged very much; they were gratified in this respect too, in order to obviate any future separation. The congregation was called together on the 20th of May 1727, and some of the Brethren, who had a good testimony, were chosen elders, and confirmed by lot. The count and baron De Watteville were appointed wardens, in order, where necessary, to patronize the congregation, and to have an eye
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upon the maintenance of good order and discipline. To these elders and wardens jointly, the direction of the congregation was committed both internally and externally. Besides the public service of God in the church, they held a meeting every morning and evening alternately in the hall at Herrnhut, enquired moreover into the people's state of heart, especially before the holy communion, and held frequent conferences together. For their ease, certain assistants were appointed; as, helpers, overseers, monitors, sickwaiters, almoners, servants, &c. The whole congregation was, according to the diversity of age and sex, divided into certain little companies, which were called *bands*, to tie the band of love still faster, and to further the inward growth; in which they spoke with confidence concerning the state of their souls, exhorted, encouraged, comforted, and prayed with, each other. But, to obviate any disorders, the two sexes kept themselves separate, each of them respectively associating, in their private edification, with their own sex.

Having, soon after, obtained *John Amos Comenius's History and Church-Constitution of the Bohemian Brethren*, published by Dr. Buddeus, out of the city-library of Zittau, and finding, to their joy, that their regulation, in all its inward and essential parts, was consonant with the church-discipline and order of their ancestors; they resolved to abide by and prosecute it farther. Indeed, since that time, especially in 1728 and 1731, the question has often arisen among them, whether they should not, for peace sake, and to avoid evil reports and persecutions, lay aside their particular regulation? But this proposal did, both times, not take place, by a particular providence of God.

§ 18.

AFTER this mutual agreement, and the good regulation of the congregation at Herrnhut, love, simplicity, and confidence began again to rule among them, and the Spirit of

God made use of several opportunities, especially a certain evangelical sermon, attended with a distinguished demonstration of the spirit and of power, and the holy communion, to bind their hearts still closer together, in a manner never to be forgotten. The former happened on the memorial day of the visitation of Mary, July 2d, 1727, when the often-mentioned Rev. Messrs. Schwedler and Schaefer were at Herrnhut on a visit, and, in conjunction with the Rev. Mr. Rothe, amidst an extraordinary concourse of people from all the circumjacent villages, preached in several places, in the forenoon at church and in the church-yard at Bertholdsdorf, and in the afternoon in the meeting-hall and in the public square at Herrnhut, from morning till night. When the multitudes of strangers were gone, there was the usual evening-meeting, at which the topic concerning the fellowship and mutual visits of children of God *, touching which our Saviour has promised that he would be in the midst of them, as he had been with *Elizabeth* and *Mary*, according to the gospel appointed for that festival; was specially treated with the Brethren: and this gave occasion to the little companies, or *bands*, mentioned in the foregoing section.

The Brethren and Sisters, each in their respective order, having acquired a more thorough knowledge of each other's hearts, there began on a Sunday, being August the 10th, an universal awakening, by means of a conversation among the Brethren, which continued till late at night, and at which the Rev. Mr. Rothe was present. He, intending on the 13th of August to receive the sacrament with his family, invited the inhabitants of Herrnhut by an affecting letter to bind themselves anew with him. The congregation, who had for a long time been very desirous of enjoying the holy communion, attended him for that purpose.

* *Mutua Fratrum Colloquia et Consolationes*, according to the Articles of Smalkald.

“ The minister” (according to an Account of that time in manuscript) “ having confirmed two persons with a blessing truly apostolical, the whole congregation, during the singing of the hymn, *My soul before thee prostrate lies ; to thee, its source, my spirit flies, &c.* † fell upon their knees, when the count, amidst a general melting of all the hearts, and floods of tears, made the public confession ; supplicating for a true union of all the hearts, a freedom from any sort of schism, and from offence to those that are without, for the solid and unshaken foundation on the genuine theology of the blood and cross of Christ ; and for establishing their Brethren and the many hundred awakened in other places, who had strayed into by-paths ; and remembered finally the two absent elders *Christian David* and *Melchior Nitschmann* *.”

The Rev. Mr. *John Luke Siese*, minister of *Hennersdorf*, having pronounced the absolution with a remarkable emotion of his heart, the Brethren received the holy communion from him, during which their hearts were filled, in a manner they had never experienced before, with peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, and with a cordial love to, and union with, each other ; and they obtained the baptism of the Spirit into one body and one spirit, (1 Cor. xii. 13.) so indispensably necessary for a living congregation of Christ, which remains unforgotten by them and their posterity, and the commemo-

† See the Brethren’s *Collection of Hymns*, Part i. p. 309.

* These, being in the midst of a conversation with *David Schneider*, whom they visited at *Sablat* near *Sorau*, with a view of making him acquainted with the union of the Moravian Brethren, were moved by an invisible power, so, that they fell on their knees, and with a flood of tears offered up a prayer, almost the same in substance with that above ; and, like *Eldad* and *Medad*, Numb. xi. 26. were endowed with the same spirit of love and fellowship. The impression was so strong in them, that the very first question they asked on their return, was, what had passed in such an hour on the 13th of August at *Herrnhut* ? “ *Would God that all the Lord’s people were prophets, and that the Lord would put his Spirit upon them.*”

ration of which has, ever since, been solemnized on the anniversary of that day, by partaking of the holy communion in the church at Bertholdsdorf.

§ 19.

THUS, the year 1727, and particularly the 12th of May and the 13th of August, is that important period, when the church of the Brethren, which had, in a manner, expired an hundred years before in Bohemia and Moravia, was revived in their posterity, and an union established between the Brethren from Moravia both among themselves, and with their Lutheran and Reformed Brethren; in which, according to the expression of *Jablonsky*, at that time the eldest bishop of the Brethren, they distinguished themselves as the genuine posterity of the Agreement of Sendomir. On the 12th of May, agreeable to the prophet Ezekiel's vision, chap. xxxvii, the dry bones having been, as it were, brought together, they were, in the following days, by various useful regulations, covered over with sinews and skin, and, on the 13th of August, animated by the Spirit of the Lord; and so gradually qualified and made meet for activity, and for the service in the kingdom of God among Christians and Heathens. Hence the count used to call the 12th of May, which has also been farther distinguished in the following years by sundry other remarkable occurrences, *The critical Day*, upon which it was decided, whether Herrnhut should prove a nest of sects, or a living congregation of Christ. Indeed, not all the inhabitants were, at that time, convinced and recovered by the same Spirit of Christ to brotherly love and unity: but they were either overpowered, with the rest, by the extraordinary grace at the holy communion on the 13th of August; or dissented only in a secret and modest way: and such, as could not be quite recovered, retreated in silence from the place,

as the author of the late disturbance had done before, who was deprived of his senses by his spiritual pride.

I cannot, in this memorable year 1727, forbear to remark again the parallelism between the ancient and modern History of the Brethren, in some particulars. Just as the ancient Brethren went in 1450 and 1453 from Prague and other places to Lititz, and did not closely unite themselves, and regulate their congregation, till in 1457, and at length, in 1467, appointed their ministry, and obtained the episcopal consecration; in the same manner the modern Brethren gathered themselves together at Herrnhut since 1722 and 1724, were in 1727 bound together, and regulated as a congregation, and obtained their own ministry first in 1735 and 1737. In the years 1624 and 1627, the church of the Brethren was destroyed and dispersed in Bohemia; and precisely one hundred years after, in 1724 and 1727, it was gathered together, and renewed again, in Germany.

§ 20.

THE same grace which the congregation had experienced on the 13th of August, their children experienced likewise. There appeared, already on the 26th of May 1727, the first emotion in their hearts, by occasion of a discourse which the count delivered in the œconomy of girls in the house of baron De Watteville at Bertholdsdorf, upon the words of a verse, “ Nothing is so dead and cold, to which thou couldst not give life.” This emotion was the more joyous to him, as he had hitherto been deeply concerned on account of the evident want of spiritual life in their hearts.

But the real and abiding awakening of these children did not take place till the 17th of August, which arose from the testimony of a simple brother, *Grumpe*, whom the count had sent to Bertholdsdorf in June the same year, to instruct them in the principles of the Christian religion. In the mean

time, the remarkable work of grace in the soul of a girl of eleven years, proved, on the 6th of August, the occasion of the beginning of an extraordinary awakening among some girls, who lived with their parents at Herrnhut, which had also a great influence upon those at Bertholdsdorf, and upon their parents and the rest of the inhabitants. On the 29th of August these children were heard praying on the Hutberg with such fervor, tears, and singing of hymns, that, as it is related in the diary of Herrnhut, “ it is impossible to describe it in “ words.”

They entered at the same time into a covenant together, that they would be the entire property of our Saviour. It is worthy of being taken notice of, as something particular, that, though the most powerful emotions in children are apt to die away, as they advance in years, yet none of these children ever broke their covenant; and most of them became blessed handmaids of Jesus in the congregation of the Brethren.

There was also, during this period, a great emotion and awakening among the little boys at Herrnhut; yet this had not such blessed consequences, or such an abiding fruit, as attended the awakening among the girls.

Not long after this remarkable awakening among the children, the so-called *Country school*, or *Pædagogium*, which was established in the year 1724, was dissolved, as the intended purpose was not obtained by it; and, instead thereof, an Institution for the education of boys, under the inspection of *Melchior Nitschmann*, the elder of the congregation, and an Institution for girls, under the inspection of some sisters, were begun; both of which were carried on together many years under the denomination of, *The Orphan-house*.

At this time, the spirit of the witnesses of Jesus was stirred up in the inhabitants of Herrnhut, and particularly in the Moravian Brethren. They covenanted together to follow their Head Jesus Christ amidst shame and reproach, persecution,

secution, and the most cruel sufferings; and, like a light set upon an hill, to shine to others also, should it please the Lord to call them to it. In attestation of this, the first declaration of the congregation which was printed in the same year, 1727*, *Chosen souls who now assemble*—In that PELLA, Herrenbut, &c. is worth consulting; in which these memorable words may be seen:

HERRNHUT shall exist no longer,
Than the works of thine own hand
Uncontroul'd rule in it's border;
And be *love* it's sacred band!
Till ripe for thee,
And found worthy,
As a good salt, to be scatter'd,
That the earth thereby be better'd.

* See the *Collection of Buedingen*, Vol. I. p. 24, and the Brethren's larger English *Collection of Hymns*, part ii. page 252.

THE
MODERN HISTORY
OF THE
BRETHREN.

PART II.

*From the Renewal of the Unity of the Brethren by the
Emigrants out of Moravia in 1727, to the first Com-
mission at Herrnhut in 1732.*

§ 21.

THE renewal of the Unity of the Brethren, and of the witness-spirit of their forefathers, was attended with various consequences. The congregation-regulations were brought from time to time into better order. The congregation became known both far and near by good and evil reports. This gave occasion to verbal and written enquiries, to invitations into foreign parts and remote countries; to various visits and deputations of the Brethren in and out of Germany; to acts of love done both to those of the same confession of faith, and to other well-meaning persons, though in error; but also to a variety of trials both among themselves and from without. The hand of God was evid-

ent in all this ; which would cause this small candle, so contemptible in the eyes of the proud, to give light both far and near.

With regard to the farther *regulation* of the congregation, the Moravian Brethren had retained a deep impression of the order and church-discipline of their ancestors, and frequently insisted upon it, that something of this nature must needs be again established among them. (§ 11, and 15.) But the count could not resolve to promote it, until in 1727, a short time before his journey into Silesia, *Comenius's Ecclesiastical History and Institutions of the Bohemian Brethren* came unexpectedly into his hands, out of the city-library of Zittau. He conferred with several divines, whether, and in how far, the church-discipline of the Bohemian Brethren, of which their descendents were so tenacious, was to be combined with the doctrine and public worship of the Protestant church ? The thing itself they could not disapprove ; and some even testified their particular joy on account of it ; but, as to the way and manner, they advised that it might be so regulated, as would be consistent with the constitution of the country and the established religion. Thus the Brethren could not confine themselves too strictly to the standard of the former congregations in Bohemia and Moravia ; but were obliged to form such regulations, as were necessary and useful to the inhabitants of Herrnhut at that time ; leaving it to the guidance of God, to alter, or to add, from time to time, as it might be found proper.

Thus, during this period, the following regulations were made by degrees. Every day there was a meeting for edification at five in the morning for all, and half an hour after eight, another for the old and infirm, in which some portion of scripture was treated of ; and in the evening a meeting for singing. In the first, questions relating to the heart and conscience, written by Brethren or Sisters on papers, which the teacher found on the table, were answered agreeable to the Bible and experience. In the last meeting, the text for the day

day following was usually read; which every one was in stillness to reflect, and the teacher publicly to speak upon. In the year 1728 this text was made known by an helper, visiting from house to house; and this was called, *The Watch-word of the day*. Since the year 1731 these daily watch-words were printed beforehand for a whole year.

On Sundays and holidays they went to hear a sermon in the parish-church at Bertholdsdorf; and, for the sake of strangers, there was a meeting at Herrnhut in the afternoon, which from thence got the name of, *The Strangers-meeting*. In the evening, the count, or some one of the helpers, delivered a discourse to the congregation, which was specially adapted to their situation; and this was called, *The Congregation-meeting*. And whereas the two sexes had been divided, according to their ages and conditions, into certain choirs; (§ 17.) short *homilies*, or exhortations, were, in the intervals, addressed to each of these divisions, setting forth, how they ought, according to their sex and condition, to walk worthy of the gospel.

Some single men, in 1728, moved together into a separate habitation. These the count himself took under his particular care; as the countess, his lady, did some single women. Upon their increasing in number, they were subdivided into certain *classes*, according to the difference of their inward growth; to the end, that each might be treated according to their situation. The same special care of souls was afterwards introduced among the other choir-divisions.

The reports of divers dangerous designs against the congregation, induced some Brethren and Sisters, as early as the year 1727, to unite themselves to a special *intercession*, and to supplicate the Lord every hour, both by day and night, for his counsel, protection and help. They divided the twenty-four hours in such a manner between themselves, that in each hour one or more of them presented themselves before

the Lord in prayer. At a weekly meeting the special subjects for their prayers to God, were laid before them.

The grace which always prevailed at the holy communion, kindled a desire in them to enjoy it more frequently than once a quarter; so, that in 1731 the congregation came to an agreement with the parish-minister, to have it administered to them every four weeks. The communicants were previously spoken with, and their state of heart enquired into, by the elders; upon which their names were given in to the minister. The holy communion was administered in the church of Bertholdsdorf; and after it, the congregation came together in the hall at Herrnhut, where the Brethren imparted the kiss of peace to the Brethren, and the Sisters did the same to the Sisters*.

All the regulations, alterations, and the chief affairs of the congregation, were weighed, and resolved upon, in the conferences of the labourers; and, according to the exigency of the case, in a select assembly of the inhabitants, which was called, *The Congregation-council*; and, in dubious cases, the decision was made by lot.

* The *Pedilavium*, or foot-washing, was indeed held, since the year 1729, by some few persons who thought themselves under an obligation to follow the command of Christ, John xiii, *Ye also ought to wash one another's feet*, simply and according to the letter; yet it was not done previously to the Lord's supper, and still less in the whole assembly of the congregation. It was not till after the spreading of the Brethren in foreign countries and in colonies, that some congregations held it, first, before every communion: but at present it is done but at certain seasons, as, upon Maundy-Thursday, and on some other occasions. In general it is to be observed, that not all the regulations, as they now exist in the Brethren's congregations, took place during this period; neither did they all remain in the same form, nor have all the congregations the very same regulations; a liberty having been reserved for alterations and amendments; which the ancient Brethren in Bohemia and Moravia made use of at regulating their church-order, pursuant to the ancient canon, *Differentia Cereemoniarum non rescindit Unitatem Ecclesiæ*. (The difference in ceremonies does not abolish the unity of the church.)

The letters and accounts of absent Brethren and friends were read to the congregation at the meeting for singing. But when these accounts began to accumulate, a special *Day of prayer and thanksgiving* was in 1728 set apart every month for this purpose; on which, after the consideration of a portion of holy writ, the accounts were read, and, at the conclusion, the present need of the congregation, and of the Brethren and friends absent, together with that of Christendom in general, was recommended to the Lord in prayer.

In the year 1730 the count resolved to lay down his office of warden, and the elders did the same. In the place of the latter, *Martin Linner* was chosen elder. Among the Sisters, out of whom elderesses of the congregation had been chosen since 1728, after the example of the ancient Brethren's church, the choice fell this time, by lot, upon *Anna Nitschmann*, whose youth was supplied by a rich measure of grace imparted to her, to be co-elderess of the congregation. She, soon after, on the 4th of May, entered into a covenant with seventeen single women, who were of the same mind with her, to devote themselves entirely to the Lord, and, among other things, to give no attention to any thoughts or overtures of marriage, unless they were brought to them, in the way of the ancient Brethren's order, by the elders of the congregation. This covenant gave afterwards occasion to the single Sisters celebrating, since 1745, every year, the 4th of May, as a memorial day, for a solemn renewal of their covenant.

Baron *Frederic De Watteville*, and *Tobias Frederic*, master of the count's household, received a commission, in 1729, according to the advice of the Apostle Paul, 1 Cor. vi, to make a speedy end of, and to compromise, the differences which might arise between Brethren, without going to law. This was afterwards called, *The Congregation-judicature*; and, in the times following, *The College of Overseers*. But in order

to preclude any litigation with such inhabitants, or their heirs, as should prove offensive and mischievous; it was unanimously agreed in 1730, that all the proprietors of houses should, immediately upon their beginning to build or to purchase, execute a bond, implying that they, or their heirs, would, in such case, sell their houses, and quit the place, that, thus, peace and good order might not be disturbed either inwardly or outwardly.

As the church-yard in Bertholdsdorf became too small, and the way to it was very inconvenient; a *burying-ground* of the congregation at Herrnhut was laid out in 1730, near the so-called Hutberg, with permission of the count, as lord and proprietor of the place; which, in respect to its regulation, more resembles a pleasure-garden, than a place of burial.

§ 22.

THE count, and the three Brethren in intimate union with him, (§ 7.) had, for a considerable time past, kept up a blessed and useful correspondence, not only with many great divines and statesmen, but also with noble families and princely personages, in and out of Germany. They were not unacquainted with the emigration of the Brethren out of *Moravia*, and their settlement at Herrnhut. The particular regulation of this new place, and the blessed publication of the gospel, - by which a great stirring was occasioned in the circumjacent country, excited the attention of many sincere souls, both far and near. Many came to hear and see every thing themselves: and these either staid there, or carried a blessing home with them; by which means the good report of this work of God spread more and more. But neither were evil reports wanting. These gave occasion to enquiries, which were not left unanswered. The count, and other Brethren, were invited to
several

several places. This gave rise to *Deputations*, to Denmark in 1727, to Sweden and England in 1728, to Livonia in 1729, to Switzerland in 1730, and to France in 1731; and also to several places in Germany *. I will only mention such of them, as have been immediately attended with important consequences, a little more circumstantially.

The first deputation after the blessed union of the Brethren, was made, in autumn 1727, to *Copenhagen*, to his royal highness prince *Charles* of *Denmark*. The Brethren *John* and *David Nitschmann* brought him, at his own desire, an account of the Brethren in Bohemia and Moravia, of their emigration and settlement in Upper Lusatia. They were treated by him, and several other persons of rank, in a most kind and gracious manner. They had also an opportunity of communicating an account of their emigration and settlement, in several places on their journey, particularly to abbot *Breithaupt* at *Magdeburg*. The consequence of this deputation was not only the count's personal acquaintance at the court of Denmark, but also the missions among the Heathen in Greenland and in the West-Indies.

§ 23.

THE hereditary prince *Christian Ernest* of *Saxe-Saalfeld* had invited the count to an interview, intending to place him, some time hence, at the helm of the government of his country. In this, the count neither could nor would engage: yet, towards the end of the year 1727, he made a journey to *Saalfeld*, *Coburg*, *Bayreuth*, *Rudelsstadt*, &c. and had, in all these places, useful interviews with the

* Such deputations, by which an account is brought to any person, either verbally or in writing, at his own request, must not be confounded with the missions to the Heathen; which did not begin till some time after.

reigning princes, and other persons of eminence, both in church and state; but did not neglect to seek and converse with people even of the lowest class, in whom he apprehended something real and good.

Upon his journey to Saalfeld, passing through Jena, he became acquainted with that eminent divine, *Buddeus*, and with several clergymen, masters of arts, and students. His conversation proved a singular blessing to many, who requested a farther information of the Brethren.

As some persons in *England* also desired an account of the Brethren, *David Nitschmann*, *John Toeltschig*, and *Wenceslaus Neisser*, senior, were, in 1728, sent thither. The elders of the congregation furnished them with a letter to Dr. Buddeus; in which they requested him to publish in German, for their use, *Comenius's History of the Bohemian Brethren*, written in Latin, which he had printed in 1702; giving him at the same time an account of their present constitution. He, in his answer, praised God for the mercy shown unto them, "which all," as he expressed it, "who were not blinded by earthly lusts, must admire;" and promised them to comply with their request*. He furnished the three Brethren, who were on their journey to London, with a recommendatory letter to the Rev. Mr. *Ziegenhagen*, the king's chaplain, and caused the writings they had with them to be transcribed and translated into Latin by some students. These became thereby desirous of a closer acquaintance with the Brethren; and to that end entreated the count to visit them again.

§ 24.

THIS gave the count an occasion to go again, in summer 1728, to Jena, with part of his family, consisting mostly

* This, however, never was done, as he died soon after. The said History of the Brethren was printed in German at Schwabach in the year 1739.

of such persons as had devoted themselves to the service of the Lord. There were, at that time, above an hundred masters of arts and students; who, instead of the national clubs, otherwise customary at universities, instituted meetings for mutual edification; and, besides their other studies, taught poor children in the free-schools which were set up in the suburbs. These schools were continued from 1729 to the death of the late Mr. *Brumhard*, A. M. in 1742. These students endeavoured to profit by the count's presence. He gave them leave, as he also did to some citizens, to be present at the meetings of his family in Dantz's garden-house. They were greatly delighted with what they had read and heard of the church-discipline of the ancient Brethren, and of the union of their descendents at Herrnhut; and requested the count to assist them in establishing such an union among them also, agreeable to the platform of the Moravian Brethren. Though he could not do this, yet he made some proposals to them, how they might, with the advice and under the direction of Dr. Buddeus, establish, by means of his pastoral and parænetic lectures, an Institution in form of a *Collegium pastorale prœcticum*, or theological seminary, adapted to the circumstances of the university, and their own future destination. This Institution took place Aug. 12th, 1728; and may be read at large in the first Volume of the *Buedingen-Collection*, p. 431. But as they did not proceed in it in a simple manner, and took too many to it, and, moreover, depended too much on human authority; the whole affair came to no consistence. As the late Dr. Buddeus hesitated to take upon himself the direction of it, and the theological faculty of Jena soon afterwards published a vindication of themselves from certain calumnies spread abroad concerning them, in which also the count's name and institutions were blended; many, for fear of being suspected, withdrew themselves from it; some of whom afterwards, under various pretences, became

adversaries

adversaries of the congregation of the Brethren. It would be too prolix to alledge here more circumstances and anecdotes concerning this affair. It may suffice to mention, that many of these masters of arts and students, who were united with the congregation, came, after various vicissitudes, partly to the Brethren, and have done them considerable services; and partly, by their public ministry in their own religion, have produced much and thousandfold fruit, with the blessing and in the fellowship of the Brethren's congregation. In the years 1737, 1738, and 1739, an Institution still flourished in Jena, out of which the *Seminary of the Brethren, adhering to the confession of Augsburg*, acquired some important members for the service of the Brethren's church among Christians and Heathens: and, besides these, by the mediation of the Brethren, many catechists and private tutors were obtained, by means of this Institution, for divers places in Lutheran countries; some of whom have proved a good favour; not to mention the blessing produced by it among the citizens of Jena.

§ 25.

FROM *Jena* the count repaired to *Halle*. The congregation had, even before, sent three Brethren with an account of their emigration and present situation to the divines there, so much beloved by the count; particularly to Dr. *Anton*. By means of what they related, and by the accounts received from Jena, concerning the count's and the Brethren's blessed residence there, some students here had been also induced to establish a more intimate fellowship among themselves, and with the congregation of the Brethren. They, therefore, entreated the count to come from Jena also to Halle. Here he lodged in the house of Dr. *Lange*, and was entreated by the doctor's son, in the name of more than one hundred students, to abide some time with them;

to read them *ascetic lectures*, and, for their better proficiency in Christianity, to make some regulations among them, as had been done in Jena. The former he complied with, at the instance of some of the professors in the university, and inspectors of the orphan-house. But the latter he was obliged to decline; probably, because it sprang merely from their own impulse, and was not at the instance of their professors, without whose knowledge and approbation he did not chuse to interfere in any thing. On the other hand, he exhorted them to follow the late professor *Franke's* good advice and method, under the guidance and direction of experienced men.

§ 26.

WHILE the count was still at *Jena*, he received intelligence, that some well-meaning friends endeavoured to persuade the Brethren at *Herrnhut*, in order both to prevent a supposed persecution, and to gain more souls in those parts, to drop their particular regulation, together with the denomination of. *The Brethren*, and to content themselves purely with the Lutheran constitution. As the foundation of this proposed alteration was fear of man and hypocrisy; the consequence would have infallibly proved a discord exactly similar to that which arose in the same way two years before, and the issue of it, a total schism among themselves, and the separation of a great part of them from the Lutheran church. But not only some few in *Herrnhut*, and those Moravian Brethren who were then with the count in *Jena*, protested, for themselves, and in the name of the absent elders, against this innovation, and the relinquishing their particular congregation-privileges; but the count also showed them the dangerous consequences of this compliance from fear of man, and advised them, not to make any alteration till the matter should be thoroughly examined to the bottom. Even the Brethren of *Jena* exhorted the Moravian Brethren,

thren, not to be ashamed of their forefathers, but, following their example, to remain in brotherly union, and firmly to maintain a discipline, which they had received by inheritance, and for which so many worthy persons in the Protestant church had sighed in vain. This was done in the so-called *Letter of Union*, which was signed by one hundred and two masters of arts and students, many of whom have afterwards filled the most weighty functions in the Protestant church.

§ 27.

THE *Statutes*, or articles of agreement, of 1727, which some regarded as a new confession of faith, and consequently as a distinguishing mark of a particular sect, had given occasion to this confusion, which, at the count's return, was entirely removed. But, in order to cut off all occasion of offence, these statutes were now called, *Injunctions and Prohibitions of the Magistrate* *; which, though occasionally laid before the inhabitants, were not subscribed as heretofore. The thing itself tending to brotherly union, good discipline and order, which had no other aim than mutual edification and establishment in that which is good, could not be set aside. But, lest this might be looked upon as a new religion, and the Brethren be, some time, on that account, compelled to give up their connection with the Protestant church, and to seek liberty of conscience elsewhere; it was found necessary to come to a right understanding on this head, and to make a public declaration. The German and the Bohemian ministers of *Groß Hennersdorf*, the parish-minister, and the court of justice of *Bertholdsdorf*, were in-

* In this and other parts of Germany, a lord of a district or a manor is a magistrate, has many regalia, can publish injunctions and prohibitions, and has his own courts for civil and criminal cases, the inhabitants being his subjects and vassals. (The Editor.)

vited on this occasion; and, in presence of them, every thing necessary was discussed in the meeting-hall with all the male inhabitants of Herrnhut, and the declarations of the Brethren taken down in writing. These declarations were delivered into the hands of the Imperial notary, and solicitor to the lord-lieutenant, *Christian Gotthelf Marche*, president of the court of judicature in Bertholdsdorf; who, from these materials, drew up a notary's instrument or deed, which, on the 12th of August 1729, was signed by eighty-three men of forty-seven different families, and ratified on the 27th of September by the subscription of the count, as lord of the territory, and by the Rev. Mr. Rothe, the parish-minister. In this deed the Brethren first give a narrative of the beginning of Herrnhut, declaring withal that they are neither separatists, nor a new sect; and that they have not been compelled to make this public declaration by any necessity, or fear of persecution; but that, having, amidst such a multiplicity of defamatory reports, waited hitherto for a legal court of commissioners from the sovereign, to examine into their intention and foundation, they now, prior to such an examination, would, of their own free will and motion, publicly make the declarations following:

(1.) That the congregation of Moravian Brethren, from whom they descended, have been acknowledged by the *Reformers*, (2.) agreeing with them in doctrine, and only differing in a constitution, which they (3.) had no occasion now to vindicate, as it had already been approved, commended, and applauded by *Luther* and other divines. (4.) That they were no violent *Hussites*, or disorderly *Fratricelli*; but descended from the Brethren's Unity at *Lititz*; and yet, (5.) without appealing to the foundation of their ancestors, were themselves desirous of laying a true foundation in point of justification. "We acknowledge" (say they) (6.) "none for Brethren in any religion, who, "having forfeited their baptismal grace, are not washed "by the sprinkling of the blood of Christ, and changed
"through-

“ throughout, proceeding in the sanctification of the spirit.
 “ We acknowledge no visible congregation of Christ, but
 “ where the word of God is taught in simplicity and purity,
 “ and the members, agreeably to it, lead an holy life as
 “ children of God. (7.) Yet will we not be separated
 “ from any one in any other Christian congregation, who
 “ truly believes in Jesus Christ his Lord;—though he
 “ even should, misled by others, or out of ignorance, give
 “ a different exposition of one or another text of scrip-
 “ ture,” &c. They guard themselves (8.) against latitudi-
 narianism, or indifferentism in religion, believing that
 the loss of life and property is not to be compared with de-
 nying the least truth. They will (9.) maintain their church-
 discipline, and acknowledge themselves, (10.) at present, bound
 not to forsake the divine service in the church at Bertholdf-
 dorf; because they find there a gathering of children of
 God, and the pure and unmixed doctrine, according to all
 the fundamental articles; while their liberty of conscience
 remained unrestrained. (11.) They esteem the confession of
 Augsburg as an excellent Christian performance. (12.) Not-
 withstanding all their respect for the blessed martyr *Huss*,
 they no more chuse to be denominated Hussites, than Lu-
 therans; but will retain their ancient name, *The Brethren*;
 hoping, (13.) that, amidst the enjoyment of their own pri-
 vate regulations, they shall be indulged with the continu-
 ance of the protection, both of the sovereign of the country,
 and of their territorial lord; and that, as much as they are
 averse to complaining against their calumniators, so much
 do they wish, with ardent desire, for a solid examination of
 their whole case.

The instrument, upon which the particular regulation of
 Herrnhut is grounded, (for we are not yet here speaking of
 the *Moravian church-constitution*) may be seen at large in the
 first Volume of the *Buedingen-Collection*, page 3.

§ 28.

ALTHOUGH every one might, from this declaration, most clearly discern the sincere mind of the Brethren towards the Protestant church, yet many well-meaning persons stumbled at their particular regulation. Though there were not now any apprehensions of a persecution on that account, as in the year 1728, and though they were under no necessity to attempt any alteration, from fear of man; yet the count himself, at this time, offered to the consideration of the elders and helpers, out of love to peace, whether, to remove all noise, offence, and any obstruction to an union with other children of God in the Lutheran church, and to render themselves more universally beneficial, and useful to others, they should not drop the constitution and church-discipline of the Brethren, and be entirely embodied in the Lutheran constitution, without any farther discrimination. Though he met with great opposition from the Brethren; yet he brought the matter so far, that it was agreed to be proposed, on the 7th of January 1731, to the congregation-council. But by far the most votes determined that a constitution of three hundred years standing, on account of which their forefathers had endured the most cruel persecutions, could not be so abruptly given up, and their posterity deprived of a jewel, which many Protestants had admired and wished to have in their churches; and that, without such a discipline and order, a speedy dispersion, and the waxing cold in the apostolic mind and zeal of their forefathers, might be apprehended*. The count having endeavoured to answer their scruples, and to evince the utility of a total conformity with the Lutheran church; it was resolved (as we find it in an

* A similar instance and determination we find in the History of the Ancient Brethren, § 23. as recorded by *Lafitius*, Lib. iii.

Account of that time) that, “ in order to obviate all future
 “ imputations on that head, we should, in this case, abso-
 “ lutely and simply resign ourselves to the entire will of our
 “ Saviour, whether it should prove to be for our total coa-
 “ lition with the established religion, without any farther re-
 “ serve, or for the maintaining and using that constitution
 “ which was particularly committed to our trust. There-
 “ fore, the two following lots were written, and, with fer-
 “ vent prayer, one of them was drawn by a child of four
 “ years old :

1. *To them that are without law, be ye as without law,
 (being not without law to God, but under the law to
 Christ,) that ye may gain them that are without law.*
 1 Cor. ix. 21.

2. *Therefore, Brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions
 which ye have been taught.* 2 Thess. ii. 15.

“ The *last* was drawn. We entered, from that day, into
 “ a covenant with each other, to remain upon this footing,
 “ and in *this* constitution to carry on the work of the Lord,
 “ and to preach his gospel in all the world and among all
 “ nations, whithersoever he should be pleased to send and
 “ scatter us abroad, and sang,

“ Guard thou us, in thy affair,
 “ With the holy watchers’ care.”

§ 29.

THE count, at the same time, persevered in his steady attachment to the Lutheran church. He did his best to be of service to it, and to support the blessed instruments of God in it. He had become acquainted with some faithful clergymen in *Silesia*, and, among them, particularly with the Rev. Mr. *John Adam Steinmetz*, minister of the Protestant tolerated church of *Teschén*, which was attended by more than

than thirty thousand Lutherans out of the circumjacent parts. With this clergyman he bound himself to propagate the kingdom of Jesus. These ministers having been accused by their own colleagues of pietism, the count faithfully interested himself in their favour. He wrote on their behalf in 1728 to the emperor's confessor, Father *Toennemann*, giving instructions to his agent at *Vienna* to proceed farther in that affair. But the deposing and expelling these sincere ministers having been resolved upon in the interim, he took pains to procure them employments in other places. By his good offices with the margrave of *Bayreuth*, he effected so much, that the Rev. Mr. Steinmetz was nominated superintendent at *Neustadt* upon the *Aisch*; from which place he was afterwards called to be the abbot of the Protestant *Cloister Bergen* near *Magdeburg*.

§ 30.

THESE efforts in behalf of the oppressed ministers and other aggrieved persons in *Silesia*, have, probably, contributed to the first controversial writing published against the congregation of the Brethren; which was afterwards followed by many others. In 1729, an *Account of a new Sect, which was making great Progress in Upper Lusatia and in Silesia*, made its appearance; written by the Jesuit *Charles Regent*, a missionary in *Silesia*. This man was chagrined that he could effect nothing with the *Schwenkfelders*, whom he wanted to bring over to his own religion, and that the count had interested himself in their favour. The count returned no kind of answer to this controversial piece; but could not hinder the Rev. Messieurs *Schaefer*, *Schwedler*, and *Rothe*, who were aspersed in the same, from rescuing their innocence, in a piece, under the title of, *Testimony to the Truth of the Congregation at Herrnhut, &c.* In the mean time, this caused some Lutheran divines, who had never seen any other account of *Herrnhut*, to write some pieces against the congregation. But they soon submitted to better information.

Besides

Besides this, various reports and descriptions of the count of Zinzendorf and the Moravian Brethren were circulated, chiefly through such as sought that which is good, but could not comprehend the proceedings of the count and the Brethren's congregation. Well-meaning persons expected a reply to them. But the count would not engage in a paper-war, alledging his reasons for this conduct in his *first public Declaration to his Adversaries*, in the year 1729, which may be seen in the *Buedingen-Collection*, Vol. I. p. 29, and which expresses, in a concise and cogent manner, the character he maintained towards his opponents to the very last. His words towards the conclusion are as follow: "The world
" hates me; that is but natural. Some of my mother's
" children are angry with me; this is grievous. The
" former is not of sufficient importance to me, that I should
" lose my time with it; and the others are too important to
" me, to put them to shame by an answer. I content myself with giving a satisfactory account to such as have a
" right to enquire about me, &c."

To say any thing more concerning the state of this controversy, both the brevity and the design of my present undertaking will not permit. I will only add, that the congregation, by occasion of the many contradictory reports, made a *Private Declaration to a certain Divine*, in the following year, 1730; which, though it cannot be looked upon as a confession of faith, may yet pass for a clear explanation of their mind in respect to, and in behalf of, the Augustan confession: as they, moreover, at the two hundred years' jubilee of this creed, very particularly showed the share they took in it by an ode set to music, in which they adopt and appropriate to themselves the very lively sentiments, full of faith, of *Luther* and some of the first confessors.

§ 31.

By means of such various reports, the congregation became more extensively known. Letters were continually received, requesting not only an account of the real state of the congregation, but also Brethren to be sent to different parts: infomuch that, in the year 1728, I find it remarked, that in one day above fifty letters were received from Halle, Jena, and other places; which were distributed among several Brethren to be answered by them. Many came themselves, in order to see every thing; among whom were persons of high rank. Some of these visits have been attended with very blessed consequences for whole countries. To other places where it was desired, even to the courts of several princes, Brethren have been dispatched with an account of the emigration and present constitution of the Moravian Brethren. The count himself had, on his going again to Jena, an opportunity of speaking with several of these great personages, and also with other princes, counts, and persons of quality, together with many learned men and eminent divines; of giving them a reason of the hope that was in him and in his Brethren, of laying before them the state of the congregation, and of recommending to them the truth as it is in Jesus.

When the Brethren heard of great emotions among the Protestants in *Salzburg*, *Melchior Nitschmann*, though contrary to the advice of the count and most of the Brethren, resolved to visit them. He set out for that place in 1728, in company with *George Schmidt*, by way of Bohemia, where they intended to visit the Bohemian Brethren about *Lititz*, mentioned in § 14. But they were betrayed in Bohemia, and put in prison. Though the count exerted himself to the utmost for their deliverance; yet the former ended his days, in 1729, in a severe imprisonment at *Schildberg* in Bohemia;

hemia ; and the latter was kept in prison six years, before he recovered his liberty. However, even these sufferings, and the death of a confessor of Jesus, were not without a blessing in those parts, as I have been informed from the mouths of many of those Bohemians who then were oppressed, but afterwards emigrated.

§ 32.

AMONG the many great divines in and out of Germany, to whom both written and verbal accounts were sent concerning the emigration and settlement of the Moravian Brethren, their regulation, and the renewal of the Unity of the Brethren, was in particular *Daniel Ernest Jablonsky*, chaplain in chief to his majesty the king of Prussia, a son of the last Moravian bishop's son-in-law, mentioned in § 45 of the *Ancient History of the Brethren*. This grandson of *Comenius* had been chosen bishop, or senior, of the Unity in Poland ; and, with the consent of the elector Frederic III, consecrated on the 20th of March 1699, at the synod of Lissa in Great Poland.

The account of this little flock of Bohemian-Moravian Brethren, " which" (as he expresses himself in his answer, dated August the 13th 1729,) " has been so despicable in the eyes of the world, but was, in their time, the har- binger and the dawn of the Reformation," excited in him great joy and gratitude to God. He acknowledged them to be the true and worthy descendents of the Bohemian Brethren, commended their union, and wished they might be better known to the church of Christ*.

With

* In his *Apologetic Epistle to Mr. De Mauclere*, (*Bued. Collect. I. p. 354.*) where, amongst others, are these words :

" Ea (Ecclesiola) solis fere exulibus Bohemis et Moravis, eo tanquam ad asyllum confluentibus, constat ; qui sub cruce praxin Christianismi edocti, postquam huc delati sunt, et ap- pellationibus schismaticis et rixis theologicis valere jussis, in
" unum

With this worthy and venerable old man, and, at that time, eldest bishop of the Brethren, the count continued to cultivate a correspondence, advising with him, as early as 1730, concerning his entering into holy orders: the consequences of which will be seen in the two succeeding Parts of this History.

§ 33.

ABOUT this time, not only Moravian Brethren and Lutherans, together with some of the Reformed, lived at Herrnhut in lovely harmony; but several Separatists, and even Schwenkfelders who, having been expelled Silesia, were received by some noblemen in Upper Lusatia, had repaired to *Herrnhut* and *Bertholdsdorf*, and were treated there with all due patience and indulgence, until they were either brought to rights again by conviction of the truth, or could betake themselves to other places. These, who partly were well-meaning and upright people, though bigotted to various opinions, and partly refractory and disorderly, may, very likely, by several offensive expressions, and by their irregular conduct, have occasioned many evil reports concerning the congregation. Nevertheless a retreat to the congregation was, upon mature

“ unum hic cœtum coalescunt, unoque ore et corde Deum lau-
 “ dantes, fidem profitentur, quæ per amorem operans est; ut hic
 “ genuinos Sendomiriensium posteros agnoscere queas. Quæ
 “ res ut Ecclesiæ Christianæ plenius innotescat, prorsus meretur.”

In English thus: This small church consists almost entirely of Bohemian and Moravian exiles, who from many parts retired hither (to Herrnhut) as to an asylum. They, taught under the cross the practice of Christianity, being at length arrived at this place, and having laid aside all schismatical names and theological disputes, are here growing together in one congregation, and, praising God with one mouth and heart, profess the faith which worketh by love: insomuch, that we may easily discern in them the genuine descendents from those Brethren, who entered into the Agreement of Sendomir. (See *Anc. Hist.* § 33.) This event truly deserves to be fully known to the Christian Church.

consider-

consideration, granted to persons who, howsoever prepossessioned against the established religion, and fallen into error, were yet sincere, and concerned for their own salvation. This retreat was granted to them with a view, on the one hand, to remove them out of the way of persecution, and to save their own or their children's souls; and, on the other hand, to deliver the established religion from people capable of creating much external disturbance and internal hurt*.

Here endeavours were used to set them to rights, to render their abode at Herrnhut, without any constraint of conscience, unprejudicial to the rest of the inhabitants; and, while a condescension, in matters of indifference, was wisely shown them, as well as inflexible firmness in the main point, the sole foundation of doctrine; to reconcile them, by degrees, to the evangelical doctrine and Protestant constitution†. It must be acknowledged, to the glory of the grace of God, that this method, so much recommended by all true Protestant divines, brought many souls, out of their labyrinth of error, into the right path, and made them useful members of the congregation of the Brethren; who, instead of creating disturbances in the Protestant church, as they had done before, afterwards rendered it many signal services. Thus the Brethren looked upon all the pains they had taken with them, as richly recompensed; and were abundantly comforted on account of all the slanders and reproaches they were obliged to bear for their sakes.

* The well-known *John Christian Edelmann*, who in 1735 was upon the point of sitting down quietly and contentedly at Herrnhut, but was hindered by several fanatical representations, and who caused afterwards so much uneasiness to the whole church, is a proof of this. (See his Letter in the *Bued. Collect.* III. p. 684.)

† The *Declaration of the Congregation at Herrnhut towards the Separatists* (in the *Freywillige Nachlese*, p. 229.) is so complete and clear for the evangelical doctrine and constitution, and against all separatism and indifferentism, that we ought to explain from thence the following condescension to that class of men.

About the year 1730, the efforts and overtures of persons, partly of the late Dr. *Spener's* mind, and partly of a separatistical way of thinking, to unite with Herrnhut, were most in agitation. Many came to see the congregation; and some staid. Others solicited for Brethren to take them under their care, and to revive and recover the degenerated state of things by useful regulations. Many Brethren had even conceived a good opinion of those who went under the general opprobrious names of Pietists and Separatists, and used their endeavours to unite them with the congregation. But the count, whose mind was not to destroy any prior institution, or to blend it with that of Herrnhut, wished to obtain a more intimate acquaintance with them, in their principal places of residence; to keep them, if possible, at a distance from the Moravian Brethren, and yet, to promote as much real good among them, as they were capable of receiving.

§ 34.

FROM this motive, the count made a journey to *Berleburg* and *Schwarzenau*, in the county of *Wittgenstein*. The master of the household to the count of *Berleburg*, Mr. *De Kalkreut*, had in 1729, on a journey through Herrnhut, received a blessed impresson of the harmony among the Brethren, and given high commendations of it to his lord, the count, who had granted an asylum to many who were persecuted on account of their particular opinions. He gave the count of *Zinzendorf* an invitation to come to *Berleburg*, with the request to bring about an union, and establish good order among people who meant well, but were fallen into various contentions. Here resided also the famous *Christianus Democritus*, or *Dippel*. The count had, before, written a letter to him, advising him not to touch the mysteries of religion, but rather to continue his former attempts to refute
philo-

philosophical errors. The count conceived hopes, by an interview, to reconcile to the established church this dangerous man, who had been formerly in a better way, but was drawn aside by the controversies then subsisting. He was the more strengthened in this hope, as Dippel's esteem for his person was not unknown to him: and he was received by him, as well as by the other heads of the parties, with great joy. During the eight days of his residence there, he heard all their various opinions with great condescension and patience; gave them solid answers to every point, without rendering them still more stiffnecked by refutations: and yet, stood firmly and simply upon the clear words of the holy scriptures, against all the objections of reason, and the sallies of fancy; and then comprised the whole in certain fundamental positions of the truth; which he clearly demonstrated, and confirmed by words taken from the holy scriptures, at the general assemblies for worship, attended by them all, even by *Dippel* himself, under a plentiful effusion of tears *. The issue was, that the heads of the several parties united themselves, in the presence of some ministers of the county, upon certain points, which were on the 12th of September signed by them all, and which may be found in the *Buedingen-Collection*, Vol. I. page 40. This was also the case, when the count spent four days at *Schwarzenau*. The plan of the proposed reformation in that place and district, is to be met with in the *Bued. Collect.* Vol. I. p. 361.

From hence it is evident that the proper intention was, after removing all dangerous opinions and exercises, to bring these people, so much at variance one with another, back to the simplicity and purity of gospel-truth, and to unite them together. This was done, not only with the knowledge,

* There was such a general emotion in the minds of all present, that even many Jews asked leave to attend the meetings, and, at least for that time, bore witness to the truth.

but at the instance of their civil and ecclesiastical superiors, and with such a divine power and wisdom as exists in the simplicity of the gospel alone. But, as the count could not stay long enough to tend this work of grace properly, and Dippel broke with the Brethren *Martin Dober* and *David Krieglstein*, who were afterwards sent thither, about the simple truths of the catechism; every thing fell back again into its former confusion, and the heads of these small sects became so much the more bitter against the count, the more they were ashamed of their not having been able to withhold their testimony to the simple truth of the all-sufficiency of the merits of Christ.

§ 35.

WHILE the count was yet at Schwarzenau, he was invited to *Wetteravia*, by deputies from the *Inspired*, or *French Prophets*, who had before been visited by two Brethren who found entrance among them. He set out on a journey thither, in order to make himself acquainted with the congregations of the so-called French Prophets. He spoke at their meetings at *Buedingen*, and in other places, in the simplicity of the gospel, but with a penetrating power, by which most of them, and especially *Frederic Rock*, the only and last of them, who had *Inspirations*, or so-called divine prophetic utterances, were struck and obliged to submit. In his interviews with the heads of their party, who aimed at an union with Herrnhut, he blamed them for esteeming their inspirations, which, in the circumstances attending them, were, in his opinion, very hideous, and far from being conformable to the meek spirit of the New Testament, equally, as a rule of faith and practice, with the holy scriptures; for separating themselves from other Christian congregations, and making nothing of the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, which Christ had instituted, and without which no assembly can be acknowledged a congregation of Christ.

Christ. They took every thing into consideration, and intended to consult about it with the rest of the congregations of their own persuasion. Some of them, among whom was *Frederic Rock* himself, made soon after, in 1732, a visit to Herrnhut, where they met with a reception attended with more love and condescension, than is easy to be comprehended by such whose hearts are not filled with the same degree of patience and meekness. Upon the count's residing, since 1736, with his family in *Wetteravia*, they renewed their negotiations with the Brethren. But these were soon interrupted, since they persisted in their own notions, and thus nothing could be effected with them.

§ 36.

To the endeavours for gaining and bringing to rights the Separatists and other sincere, though erroneous, minds, belongs also the publication of Mr. Marche's hymn-book, entitled, *A Collection of spiritual and pleasant Hymns*, 1731. The count endeavoured to get out of the hands of these people, and of many Brethren themselves, who still imagined to find a depth of wisdom in obscure mystic hymns, those that were of this kind, by this very method of inserting many of the most tolerable mystic hymns among the usual church-hymns, after the former had been purged from various errors. Had he left out all the hymns of this cast, or even rejected them with severe censures; the friends of mysticism would, in that case, have been so much the more vehement advocates for them, and would not on any account have accepted the ancient church and other sound hymns. But, as they, however, found something which they sought for, they were satisfied with the rest; till, by frequent use, they got such a relish for them, that they became weaned from, and forgot, their former dangerous, favourite hymns: after which, this hymn-book, in which, notwithstanding

the revision, some dubious expressions still remained, could be set aside without any farther scruple.

There is no doubt but such endeavours, and especially the negotiations with the Separatists and the French Prophets above-mentioned, drew upon the count and the congregation many unfriendly censures from divines, and as much bitterness, hatred and defamation from the heads of these several parties. But they have been, at the same time, attended with this benefit to the Brethren themselves, that they, since then, became more firmly grounded upon the doctrine of the merits of Jesus; and yet many of that class of people were gained over to the same simple mind and foundation.

§ 37.

THE journey which the count made in the year 1731 to *Copenhagen*, to the coronation of *Christian VI*, does not, indeed, in the same degree as many other journies and transactions of his, here briefly taken notice of, belong to this History, but rather to the *Memoirs of his Life*. Nevertheless, inasmuch as it has been attended with consequences to the cause of the congregation, I must here mention it likewise.

He had been long known and esteemed at the court of Denmark; and he thought that, by engaging with that court, he might be freed from his troublesome office at Dresden, which took him too much from the labour in the congregation. He found great favour with all the royal family, and at court partly admirers and well-wishers, and partly invidious and secret enemies. All the places which were proposed to him, required his personal attendance: but he would accept of none that kept him at a distance from his beloved Herrnhut, and could be an hinderance to his executing the designs of God. Thus he was obliged to decline all the proposals made him, and could only accept of the *Order of Danebrog*,

Danebrog, with which he was invested on the 5th of June, without any application for it on his part, and even contrary to his inclination and remonstrance. The king reposed such confidence in him, as to desire him to propose a worthy person for a court-chaplain and professor in the university. The choice fell upon the Rev. Mr. *Reufs*, a master of arts, and lecturing tutor at Tuebingen, who, together with the Rev. Mr. *Steinhofer*, M. A. was a year before become acquainted with Herrnhut. The proper advantage of this journey, which afterwards drew upon his person a great deal of envy and calumny, was not only his acquaintance with many worthy divines, and other awakened souls, in Denmark; but, principally, its proving the occasion to the first missions of the Brethren among the Heathen. I find, indeed, that the Brethren, even as early as 1728, upon a day of thanksgiving and prayer, when accounts were read of the kingdom of God, spoke of, and expressed their wishes to bring the gospel to, the *Negroes*, the *Laplanders*, and the *Greenlanders*; that to many this appeared impossible: but that the count expressed a lively hope, that this would once be the case. I find, moreover, that he, even in 1727, gave it in charge to the Brethren sent to Copenhagen, (§ 22.) to make an enquiry about the state of the *Greenlanders*. But hitherto an occasion had been wanting to a mission among the Heathen, which now offered itself at Copenhagen, by an acquaintance which the count and his domestics made with the Negro-valet de chambre of count *Laurwig*, master of the horse. This Negro related to them the miserable condition of the *Negroes* in the island of St. Thomas, and the longing of many, and especially of his sister, to be made acquainted with the way of salvation. This left a deep impression upon the count; and, having, at his return to Herrnhut, spoken of it to the congregation, two lively young Brethren, *Leonhard Dober* and *Tobias Leupold*, were powerfully excited and moved to go among these Heathens. The latter mentioned his desire in writing.

Whilst his letter was reading to the congregation, the Brethren *Matthew Stach* and *Frederic Boehnisch* formed the resolution of expressing their desire to go to Greenland. The first-mentioned Brethren were confirmed in this mind, and some others moved to it, by the arrival of the above-mentioned Negro *Anton* at Herrnhut upon a visit, when he was permitted to deliver to the assembled congregation his account of the Negroes.

How this aim was accomplished, will be shown in the following Part. It may also be seen in the *History of Greenland*, Book v. § 1, 2.

§ 38.

AT his return from *Copenhagen*, the count found above seventy new exiles from Moravia. This caused no small stir. The count was accused of sending his emissaries to Moravia and Bohemia, in order to inveigle people from thence; and various things were printed against him in *Silesia*. He complained of it to the Imperial confessor, father *Toennemann*; and received for answer that a stop should be put to it, which was also done. He received, however, an admonition from the electoral court of Saxony, relative to the emigration out of Moravia; and his reply gave satisfaction for that time.

Indeed, the emigration out of Moravia would not have made so great a noise, had not that out of Bohemia followed immediately upon it; and this at the very time, when many thousands went out at once from the archbishopric of *Salzburg*, and retired to Prussia and America. A great deal of the commotions in Bohemia being also laid to the charge of the count; as indeed all disorderly motions of this kind were then laid at his door, though he was himself the sufferer; I cannot avoid relating something of it also out of the *Historia o Cyrkwy Czeske* (*History of the Bohemian Church*), which was afterwards compiled at Berlin by some of these very Bohemian exiles.

Henrietta

Henrietta Sophia de Gersdorf, then lady of *Gross Hennerisdorf*, an aunt of the count's, had, after the decease of his grandmother, received about seven Bohemian families, who had lived many years before in Upper Lusatia, and appointed the student *John Liberda* of Upper Silesia assistant-school-master of the orphan-house, which her deceased mother had founded. By means of his sermons and other meetings of edification, a great awakening ensued among the Bohemians, who came hither on a visit from Zittau, Dresden, and Gebhardsdorf on the confines of Silesia. They began to hold meetings in their own places too; and, being persecuted on that account, some of them made their retreat to *Hennerisdorf*, and rendered the Bohemian colony there considerable. Some went to Bohemia, preached to their countrymen, and led many of them out, insomuch, that this colony encreased in four years to four hundred persons. The lady of the manor, who was not well affected towards the count and his institutions, intended to set up these Bohemian emigrants in opposition to the Moravian Brethren, and to settle a kind of Anti-Herrnhut. *Liberda*, who first stood in a confidential connection with the Brethren at Herrnhut, was also drawn into this opposition. They built a place for the Bohemians, called *Schoenbrunn*, at the foot of an hill behind *Hennerisdorf*. But it was not long, before the lady fell out with the Bohemians for various political and oeconomic reasons. To this came the mandate from the electoral court, that the lords of manors in Upper Lusatia should no longer receive any exiles out of the emperor's dominions; and that they should forbid their subjects to draw people out of Bohemia. The Bohemians were now enjoined to take the oath of allegiance to their lady, and at the same time to promise that they would go no more into Bohemia to draw people from thence; not to meet in large numbers, and, least of all, to expound the scripture in private houses, &c. Against this, eighteen men protested in the name of the rest; who

were obliged to quit the place. On the other hand, the colony presented a memorial to the lady of the manor, desiring, among other things, to have a church of their own, the liberty of chusing their own ministers, and the distributing the collections for the poor; to appoint officers of justice out of their own company, &c. The men who presented this memorial, were put into gaol. The consequences of these things will be related in the following Part.

THE
MODERN HISTORY
OF THE
BRETHREN.

PART III.

*From the first Commission at Herrnhut in 1732, to
the second Commission in 1736.*

§ 39.

EVEN before the disturbances on account of the Bohemians broke fully out, the Imperial ambassador at the court of Saxony had lodged a complaint against inveigling the emperor's subjects out of their own, and receiving them in another country. The suspicion fell upon the count and the congregation at *Herrnhut* ; and the very persons, who gave occasion to these disorders, charged them upon him and the congregation, with much plausibility.

As many other strange reports of Herrnhut were circulated, the court appointed an examination touching these accusations ; which proved so much the more acceptable to the Moravian Brethren, as they had been hitherto in a state of suspense, whether they might, or might not, upon such groundless charges, be deprived of the protection of government
without

without an hearing, and delivered up again to their former lords. The president of the principality of *Goerlitz*, baron *Gerstorf* of *Reichenbach*, to whom this examination was committed, came to Herrnhut, attended with the official secretary, January 19th 1732. He, first of all, explained to the Brethren the design of the commission; which was, to examine whether subjects had been inveigled out of Moravia and Bohemia, (for, as to the reception of voluntary emigrants, there was no complaint) and then to be informed of their doctrine and constitution. The day following, being Sunday, the commissioner attended all the meetings, in which no alteration at all was made on account of their presence; but the Brethren rather spoke and acted with more freedom, in order that the supreme magistrate might obtain a true and entire conception of their doctrine and constitution.

I will here briefly mention the order of the meetings from the account given of this commission. On Sunday morning, from five to six o'clock, was the usual daily meeting for prayer at Herrnhut. Then they went to Bertholdsdorf to church, where the Rev. Mr. *Rothe* preached; who also in the afternoon delivered a discourse at Herrnhut to great numbers of strangers* from the cities and villages round about: upon which Mr. *Steinbofer* repeated the sermon to those inhabitants of Herrnhut, who could not go to church; which the count otherwise commonly did. The count then delivered short exhortations, or homilies, to the respective choir-divisions, from the children to the widows. The children were catechised upon the subject of a verse; and one of them concluded with a prayer. A portion of scripture was read and expounded to the adults. The commis-

* These were partly come to see what would be the end of Herrnhut. For it had, even then, many invidious and malevolent enemies, who, upon every occasion, hoped for its destruction,

sioner was present at all these meetings. After this, the parish-minister was interrogated by the commissioner concerning this congregation, of which he could give no other than a good testimony. The count closed the day with a discourse on Psalm xix.

January 21st, after the usual morning-meeting, the commission was opened, and the whole congregation were called to it in the hall. The commissioner, after an address to the congregation, ordered the Moravian emigrants, from above twenty places, forty of whom had suffered imprisonment, to step forward; when he interrogated each of them in reference to the circumstances of their awakening, oppressions, and imprisonment; also to the true design and occasion of their emigration, ordering every thing to be faithfully minuted. Afterwards, the grounds of the particular regulations of the congregation and its institutions were examined into. The day following, the commissioner took a view of the orphan-house, and the institution for boys brought up to learning; when the children were examined and catechised; of the apothecary's shop, and the habitation of the single Brethren. Mean while, some private questions were put by the secretary to the helper, *Martin Dober*, and both the questions and answers minuted. After which the commissioner set out on their departure well satisfied; a memorial having been presented to them in the name of the congregation, in which a plain and full narrative was given of their descent and revolutions since the year 1457, together with the true reasons and the circumstances of their emigration, and of their disposition towards their present government, and the Protestant church. The count accompanied the acts of the commission with a letter to the king, and with an ample *Deduction* addressed to the Privy-Council at *Dresden*, in which he explained himself clearly concerning the regulations of the congregation. What effect this examination had upon the commissioner,

and how his report turned out, may be seen by his friendly letter, written afterwards to the count *.

§ 40.

Now the congregation at Herrnhut was in hopes of attaining to, and continuing at, rest. But they were soon after involved in the disturbances on account of the Bohemians, mentioned in § 38. The men who had been sent away from Groß Hennerdorf, together with a great number of other discontented Bohemians, came to Herrnhut, and solicited for permission to dwell there. All the houses were filled with them, and many encamped in the streets. All possible care was taken of their souls and bodies, and so much the more, as they were extremely poor, and had among them many that were dangerously sick. Yet the count would not grant them a settlement on his domain, without a discharge from their former lady; on which account he wrote to his aunt, that she would be pleased to signify to him such of them as she could and would part with. In her answer, wherein she previously acquitted him of the suspicion he had hitherto lain under, as if he had supported these people in their refractoriness; she related the grounds of these disturbances, much in the same way as has been mentioned above, reserving to herself a claim to them all. The count, of consequence, was under a necessity of ordering all these people to leave the place, though there may have been many well-disposed minds among them, who, by a prudent indulgence, might have been brought into order. He offered to write to their former lady, and intercede for them. But they sent de-

* This letter is published in the *Buedingen-Collektion*, Vol. III, p. 299, and expresses the president's great satisfaction at the execution of his commission; his high esteem for the count, and for the elders and congregation at Herrnhut. (The Editor.)

puties to the territory of *Bayreuth*, to seek a settlement for themselves, either there, or in the Empire. But, having met with none, the Rev. Mr. *Steinmetz*, then superintendent, and the Rev. Mr. *Sarganek*, the head-master of the school, at *Neustadt on the Aisch*, advised them to repair to the *Brandenburg* dominions; as it is related in the *Historia o Cyrkwj Czeske*.

However, some of the Bohemians, who had not done homage at *Hennersdorf*, staid at *Herrnhut*. These were obliged to make a declaration, whether it was their intention to stay and form a settlement of their own, separate from *Herrnhut* (for they were not to be blended with the inhabitants of the place), or to withdraw. The majority of them chose the latter, and, having settled every thing, relating to their effects, according to law, repaired to *Hennersdorf*, in hopes of meeting with a better fortune, together with the other Bohemians. These dispatched their assistant in the school, *Liberda*, and eight men, as deputies, to *Berlin*, supplicating the king in a memorial, to be pleased to receive the Bohemian emigrants, who neither would nor could stay any longer in Saxony; and, at the same time, to procure for their Brethren, still residing in Bohemia, the free exercise of their religion; or, if this could not be obtained, a settlement in his dominions. According to their own account, the king promised to do his best for them; and, in case nothing could be effected by representations to the Imperial court, to receive such of them as should, in stilness and good order, withdraw themselves from Saxony and Bohemia, to settle in his territories. But the Bohemians in *Groß Hennersdorf* did not await the issue of his majesty's endeavours in their behalf; but some of them went to Bohemia, and persuaded their countrymen, that the king would procure liberty of conscience for them; and that, in case he met with opposition, he would send an army to Bohemia to second their undertakings, and an emigration as glorious, at least, as that of the *Salzburgers*: that

now,

now, therefore, it was at their own option, whether to avail themselves of these favourable conjunctures, or not. The people, deceived by such groundless reports and false hopes, assembled themselves by hundreds to a free and open exercise of divine worship; but were dispersed by some regiments of soldiers, and a great part of them cast into prisons; where such, as refused to take an oath of abjuration, spent ten years in great misery.

§ 41.

AT the same time (in October 1732) the Bohemians of *Groß Hennersdorf*, together with several families from other places, amounting in all to five hundred persons, and upwards, misunderstanding the promise of a reception in the Brandenburg dominions, set out, by the way of *Goerlitz* and *Cottbus*, for *Berlin*. At *Goerlitz* they were well received and entertained; but were obliged to make a halt of eight days, till it could be notified to the court, and instructions received from thence concerning them. The purport of these was, that they should be conducted in small parties, from twenty to thirty in a company, to the confines, and be furnished with passports, showing that they were no vagabonds, but emigrants, who adhered to the confession of *Augsburg*; but yet did not leave Saxony on account of religion, but to obtain a better subsistence; however, they should be forbidden to return again into Saxony. They also met with a kind reception at *Cottbus* *. But the governor having apprized the court of this affair, they were conducted in three companies, by soldiers, out of the city to the confines, and enjoined not to set foot again in his majesty's dominions. Thus they, during the autumn and winter seasons, roved about on the confines, where, though

* *Cottbus* is situate in a Prussian territory.

they met here and there with sympathizing hearts, yet none dared to harbour them any where. Many returned, singly and unnoticed, again to Saxony; but the greatest part found, by degrees, and unobserved, their way to *Berlin*; where they, indeed, were not driven away; but yet, on account of an expected enquiry, not taken notice of. Here they lived some years in deplorable poverty and contempt, until it was found that their retreat occasioned no disturbance. Their various endeavours to earn their bread, and the good order they maintained among themselves, inclined the hearts of many persons of rank, and at length that of the king, towards them. Work was procured for them; charitable contributions were made for their poor; a Lutheran minister and a school-master appointed, and a fine church was built for them in the Frederic's Stadt, which was consecrated on the 12th of May 1737, and called, *The Bethlehem-church*. After an examination in January 1737, at the instance of the Imperial court, into the reasons and manner of their coming to Berlin, a lot of ground for building was assigned them in William-street, and a sufficient sum either freely given or lent them for the purpose.

But, with regard to the before-mentioned *Liberda*, he, immediately after his return from the deputation to Berlin, was gone to *Upper Silesia*. But no sooner was he returned to Hennerdorf, but he was taken up by the lady of the manor, as the promoter of these disturbances in Bohemia and Saxony, and, by order of the court, lodged in the house of correction at *Waldheim*, where he was confined till 1737, when, in company with the turnkey, he escaped to Berlin.

§ 42.

I WAS willing, out of the *Historia o Cyrkwy Czeske*, and the *Life of the Bohemian Minister, Augustin Schulz*, briefly to mention these circumstances concerning the disturbances
of

of the *Hennersdorf-Bohemians* (who are not to be confounded with a colony of Bohemians, who did not, till some time after, settle at *Gerlachshheim*, from whence the congregation of Bohemian Brethren at *Berlin* and *Rueksdorf* is descended); for this reason, because I would evince how little the congregation at Herrnhut was concerned in them; and that rather all these things might have been prevented, had the count's good advice and interposition been accepted. And yet, every thing was so misrepresented at court, that, in consequence of his majesty's rescript sent him in November 1732, he was advised to sell his estates; which he looked upon as the harbinger of his approaching exile. But this sale had taken place nearly a quarter of a year before, though from very different motives, as shall hereafter be related.

At the same time also a false report was propagated in the country, as if the count had harboured at Herrnhut a great number of people, who had been expelled out of the bishopric of *Wuerzburg*. Many impostors availed themselves of this report, to beg charity of tender-hearted people, under the pretext of being exiles of Herrnhut. This report was contradicted in N^o. lvi. of the *Dresden Intelligencer*; where every one was warned against giving any thing to any, who should use the name of Herrnhut, as none of them were in need of it.

§ 43.

As to the before-mentioned Bohemian colony at *Gerlachshheim*, in the district of Goerlitz, the case was this. A few Bohemian families had lived there for many years past, to whom the lord of the manor had given a promise, that, as soon as they should amount to eight families, a church should be built for them, a minister maintained, and land given them for agriculture. When, therefore, in

1728, eight houses had been erected, they sought for a preacher among the colony of Bohemians at Groß Hennerdorf, and found the student *Augustin Schulz*, of *Breslaw*, willing to go with them. According to the *Memoirs of his Life*, written by himself, he, after completing his studies at Jena in 1728, had been appointed a catechist at *Bitschen* in Silesia, where he learned the Polish language, and became afterwards one of the masters of the Polish school at *Teschen*. But, having been forced out of his place by the envy of the minister of the Polish congregation, and, after being again employed two years at *Bitschen*, complained of by a Lutheran clergyman, he was, at last, expelled by government. At Goerlitz, where he, in 1727, was, for a while, employed in the Rev. Mr. Schaefer's charity-school, he became acquainted with the Brethren at Herrnhut. As his intention was to have gone from hence to Halle, and as he wanted first to take leave of his friends in Silesia, he was, upon a false information lodged against him for keeping conventicles, committed to prison at *Brieg*. He was, however, after some months, honourably discharged in 1728; though, on the other hand, the Rev. Mr. Sommer, at *Dirsdorf*, and the clergymen *Steinmetz*, *Muthmann*, and *Saffadius*, at *Teschen*, were forced to quit the country. *Schulz* came to Groß Hennerdorf; and here it was that the Bohemians at Gerlachshiem solicited him to go along with them as their preacher. He complied with their request, in consequence of a conviction that it was the will of God, and lived with them in exceeding great poverty; for he had no salary, nor could the poor Bohemians do a great deal for him. In those parts, and even by his own lord, being under the suspicion of pietism, he was hated, narrowly watched, and under great restraint. Amongst his hearers he found, it is true, sound knowledge and a decent behaviour, but no life in their hearts. He made collections towards a church for them, and built it; and moreover a parsonage, school and poor-house. When afterwards a considerable

number of extremely poor exiles joined them, who were in no capacity of procuring themselves a sufficient maintenance, he was, for several years together, by the contributions of some benevolent merchants of Franconia and Suabia, enabled to assist most of them, as also the poor remnant of the Bohemians at *Gross Hennerdorf*, and even to support part of them entirely. In his spiritual labour among them, he was indefatigable. He daily kept school for the children; and held some days in the week meetings of edification for the adults, besides the public sermons on Sundays, which usually lasted three hours in the morning, and nearly as many in the afternoon. He visited and spoke with every one separately, making their concerns, both of body and soul, his own. He left it to the German parish-minister to administer the holy sacraments of baptism and the supper of the Lord: for he did not chuse to be ordained, because he would preserve himself and his Bohemians in their liberty. His hearers entertained love and confidence towards him, and were so far from being tired with his long sermons, that they went with regret out of the church. Moreover, many Bohemians from the adjacent village *Gebhardsdorf*, and from other places, attended his preachings; and an awakening took place among them, which had blessed consequences.

§ 44.

THERE arose, about the year 1720, in the territory of *Landscron* and *Leutnischel*, not far from *Lititz*, the first residence of the *Unity* in Bohemia, an awakening, which was kept alive by Brethren from *Herrnhut*: (§ 14.) but it was restrained by severe oppressions. About the year 1728, by occasion of the imprisonment of two Brethren from *Herrnhut*, a new life took place among these descendents of the Bohemian Brethren; (§ 31.) and not long after, some of the awakened from *Gerlachshiem* came to them, who explained

plained still more fully unto them the counsel of God concerning their salvation. Their meetings and private interviews were soon discovered; and the persecution urged them to seek their liberty. In the year 1732, *Jan Gilek*, of *Hermanitz*, made, with fourteen others, a beginning to emigrate. He was followed, in 1733 and 1734, by some other families, viz. *Niemetz*, *Giretschek*, *Janauschek*, *Mikulezky*, *Pakosta*, &c. most of whom had undergone severe bonds and sufferings for the name of Jesus. Some of them are, at the time of my writing this, elders and wardens of the congregation of Bohemian Brethren at *Berlin* and *Rueksdorf*. They were, for the most part, under a necessity of making their retreat in a very severe winter, in the long nights, overpathless, and, on that account, unguarded passages of the so-called *Giant-Mountains*; but experienced so many wonderful helps and deliverances, as, together with the manifold sufferings of those who were taken, cannot be read without tears, in the *Memoirs of their Lives*. By their arrival, the Bohemian colony at *Gerlachshheim* increased, within a few years, to several hundreds, especially after the colony at *Hennersdorf* was broken up in 1732, and the lady of that manor dared not to harbour any more Bohemians, or, however, not for a long time. For, although the king's prohibition extended to all the states of the country; yet the lord of the manor of *Gerlachshheim* knew how to manage it so, as not to be called to an account for it.

These people, being descended from the ancient Brethren, had been already visited by Moravian Brethren from *Herrnhut*, and emigrated with an intention of renewing their fellowship with them. It was, therefore, very agreeable to them, that their preacher himself had fellowship with the Brethren at *Herrnhut*, and made use of their counsel in the leading of souls, and the regulation of good orders. He not only preached, and catechised diligently at church, and held meetings of edification in his own house; but moreover, according to the example of *Herrnhut*, addressed

special exhortations to the children, the single people of both sexes, the married, and the widows. He farther subdivided each of these classes into particular bands, who conversed with each other concerning the state of their souls: and their leaders gave him every Saturday an account of the situation of the souls; which furnished him with an excellent opportunity of making his sermons from the pulpit, and his discourses to the respective divisions, practical.

“What rendered my function (so he writes himself) still more agreeable and blessed, was, that they did not satisfy themselves merely with my preaching, but also faithfully and mutually exhorted one another, spending the whole day, in all their rooms, with reading, praying, singing, and pious conversation, without neglecting their work. Whoever was the best reader, fixed a small desk to his spinning-wheel, or loom, large enough to hold his Bible, and read it to the rest; there being in one room two or three companies from eight to twelve, yea, sixteen persons. They then conversed upon what had been read, with singing and prayer. &c.”

In each room, two were appointed as overseers, to prevent all disorders, and to bring him an account of every one's behaviour. And as the single women had signified to him their desire of dwelling separate from the other sex, he hired an house for them, where they might live and work by themselves. In the same manner, he provided the widows with a separate dwelling, and with the necessary supply of work and provisions. They strictly observed good outward order and discipline in general; and such as were offensive in their walk, were excluded their fellowship, till they publicly asked pardon, and altered their course.

§ 45.

To this brief extract of his *Church-book*, and the *Memoirs of his Life*, I will yet subjoin what the members of the court of justice and the eldest men of the Bohemian colony at Rueksdorf (who are the very Bohemians of Gerlachshiem) gave me, in the year 1768, being at that time their minister, by way of reply to several queries I put to them with respect to their descent, and which the wardens and helpers of the congregation of the Bohemian Brethren at *Berlin*, have confirmed. The substance of their declaration is as follows;

“ We, and the greatest part of the members of the congregation at Berlin and Rueksdorf, are from the territories of Landscron and Leutmischel, where the Unity of the Brethren commenced three hundred years ago. *Lititz*, *Zamberg*, *Kunewald*, and more such places, as well known in the Ancient History of the Brethren, as *Bertholdsdorf* and *Herrnhut* are now, lie only at a distance of between three and twelve miles from our former abode. At *Czerweny* and *Hermanitz*, from whence most of us came, and in many of the circumjacent villages, there have been houses of prayer, or meeting-houses, belonging to the Brethren, which, to this very day, retain the name of *Bratersky Zbory*, that is, *The Brethren's Meetings*. Our fathers, who were well apprized of the difference between the Roman Catholics, the Lutherans, and the Reformed, between the Calixtines and the Brethren, have informed us, that they were descended from the suppressed *Unity of the Brethren*. They could also tell us many particulars of their regulations, and of what befel them; and encouraged us to hope that this *Unity* would still be somewhere renewed again, to which we or our children would once be joined.—No sooner did we, about the year 1725, hear of *Herrnhut*, and that there was a settlement

“ there of Brethren from *Moravia*, and we were visited by
 “ Brethren from *Herrnhut*; but it was immediately an in-
 “ disputable point with us, that these were the very people
 “ we belonged to, and to whom we would go. It was the
 “ visit of these Brethren from *Herrnhut*, which brought the
 “ awakening amongst us at *Czerweny* to a consistence*;
 “ nor did we emigrate out of *Bohemia*, merely for the sake
 “ of liberty of conscience, but because we wanted to be in
 “ fellowship with our Brethren out of *Moravia*. And this
 “ was the unanimous declaration we made, which was re-
 “ gistered, in our reply to the query, When, and by whose
 “ means, we came to the *Moravian* Brethren? before his
 “ majesty’s commission, held at *Berlin*, even as early as in
 “ the year 1747.

“ When we, about the year 1730, came to understand,
 “ by the *Bohemians* from *Gerlachshelm*, that they had a
 “ preacher, who was in connexion with the Brethren of
 “ *Herrnhut*; we, from time to time, withdrew from *Bohe-*
 “ *mia*, and repaired thither; because we there found our own
 “ countrymen, and a man, who preached in the *Bohemian*
 “ language, a privilege we could not have at *Herrnhut*.——
 “ He himself went frequently to *Herrnhut*, and brought us
 “ many accounts concerning the blessed situation of things
 “ there. He also took one or another of us with him on his
 “ visits thither; and scarcely a Sunday passed on which
 “ some of us did not visit there. He conferred with the
 “ Brethren, and with the late count, about his thoughts
 “ concerning the regulations he intended to make amongst
 “ us, soliciting the Brethren to visit us; in consequence of
 “ which, we were visited by several, especially the late

* Some Brethren from *Czerweny*, and among the rest, old fa-
 ther *Jan Bittmann*, who, during my ministry, departed this life
 in the 96th year of his age, having lived to see as many children,
 grand-children, and sons and daughters in law, as he was years
 old, went on a visit to *Herrnhut* at that time, with a view to keep
 up the acquaintance with the Brethren.

“ *Leonhard*

“ *Leonhard Dober*. It was by the counsel and aid of these
“ Brethren, that, about the year 1735, he brought the
“ well-known regulation amongst us fully to bear.—

“ Notwithstanding he proceeded very quietly and cau-
“ tiously in this business, it however transpired. On this
“ account, he was looked upon in the neighbourhood, and
“ even by the parish-minister of Gerlachshheim, who ad-
“ ministered baptism and the Lord’s supper to us, as an
“ *Herrnhuter*: and in some places the ministers preached
“ violently against him and us.—When we pressed him to
“ be ordained, that he might appear with more credit, and
“ be in a capacity of serving us with the holy sacraments in
“ our own language; his usual answer was, ‘ I will readily
“ serve you with the gospel *; but yet maintain my own
“ liberty, and preserve your’s too. I do not think of stay-
“ ing always with you; but of preaching once the gospel to
“ the *Calmucs*. Ye are Bohemian Brethren, and belong
“ to those of Moravia at Herrnhut. Should I be ordained,
“ and make you a regular Lutheran parish; ye would be
“ obliged, at my departure or death, to receive a minister,
“ and to keep him all his life, even though ye were averse
“ to have any, or should want another, in whom ye could
“ repose greater confidence. But, if I depart from you as
“ a mere student, or school-master; it will then be at your
“ own option, whether ye will receive another, or not; or,
“ whether ye chuse one out of your own body, or call one
“ from among the Moravian Brethren, to be your teacher.
“ And the time will come, when this will depend upon your
“ own free determination.’ In this manner he has frequently
“ expressed himself towards us; especially when we proposed
“ building for him a suitable parsonage-house at *Rucksdorf*,
“ instead of a wretched chamber in a garret, with which he,
“ for a time, together with his wife and children, had con-

* A Lutheran or Reformed student, who is a candidate for the ministry, is allowed to preach in the Lutheran or Reformed churches. (The Editor.)

“ tented himself, under great difficulties. And, during a
 “ dangerous illness of his, we have heard from his own
 “ mouth, that he made the very same declaration to the mi-
 “ nister of the ecclesiastical department.”

So much, for this time, of the relation of the Bohemian Brethren.

§ 46.

BUT it is time to return to the *Moravian Brethren* at *Herrnhut*, and particularly to the count, and to see what had determined him to sell his estates, even before his having received the above-mentioned order. (§ 42.) He wanted now, more than had hitherto been done, fully to execute the resolution he had formed even in his youth, of devoting himself to the ministry of the gospel; to which he had also been blessed by some great divines. For this end, with his mother's consent, he in 1732 resigned his place in the regency at Dresden at a full board, giving at the same time sufficient intimations, both in word and deed, of what they had to expect of him for the future. In this view he esteemed it also an impropriety, to act himself as a magistrate. On this account, he made a formal conveyance of his estates to his lady. He devoted himself from that time entirely and only to the service of the Lord in general, and in particular among the congregation of exiles which God had committed to his trust, and which, to use his own expression, he regarded as “ A Parish destined for him from eternity.” Besides this, the congregation, which, ever since 1730, regretted his resigning the office of warden, gave him again a vocation, September the 26th 1732, for the same office. And when he, for various reasons, declined it, he was presented with a still more urgent vocation, dated January the 26th 1733; which he at length accepted. Upon this he set out on his first memorable journey to *Tuebingen*, where he was very intent upon giving to all the professors, and particularly to the chancellor *Pfaff*, a full account of the present state of the doctrine

doctrine and constitution of the congregation at Herrnhut, in order to enable them to answer more clearly and fully the question mentioned in the following section. He likewise found an opportunity of learning the sentiments of the most renowned divines concerning the Moravian Brethren, their connection with the Protestant church, and retaining their own particular church-discipline.

§ 47.

To their desire of keeping their own church-discipline, a very natural occasion presented itself at the close of the year 1732. The congregation at *Herrnhut*, being increased to six hundred persons, were too numerous to go to the church at *Bertholdsdorf*, together with the parishioners living in the place. Old and infirm people were altogether unable to go any longer to that church; nor could it be expected of the minister, that he, during the winter-season, by bad roads and weather, should come every Sunday to *Herrnhut*, to hold the Repetition, or the so-called Strangers-Meeting. In order to give no umbrage by absenting themselves from the preaching, the congregation, by their syndics, drew up and presented a memorial to the lord of the manor, in which they petitioned for a minister of their own; “who,” (to use the words of the memorial) “as an assistant to the parish-minister, should
“preach a sermon for such as were unable to go to church;
“watch over the analogy of faith, and preserve the constitution of the Moravian Brethren in a wise connexion with
“the whole body of the church of the Augustan confession.” To this office they proposed Mr. *Steinhofer*, a master of arts and lecturer in the university of *Tuebingen*, who, having passed through an examination in his own country, had been destined to the service of the church. After mature deliberation, and with the consent of the Rev. Mr. *Rothe*, rector of the parish, given in writing, the vocation was drawn up, and the affair notified to the president of the principality

ciality of Goerlitz, who gave his good advice with respect to this co-pastor, or assistant. However, Mr. Steinhöfer himself hesitated to accept the vocation, till he, on account of the salary he enjoyed, should be duly discharged by the *Ephori*, or guardians of the university appointed by the duke of Wuerttemberg, and informed by them, whether he, as a Lutheran divine, might, consistently, serve a congregation, which, though sound in the doctrine, and determined to remain in unity with the Lutheran church; had, at the same time, a regulation different from other Lutheran congregations, and a peculiar church-discipline, which he should be obliged to watch over as a precious jewel. He, therefore, submitted to the decision of the theological faculty of Tuebingen the question, “Whether the congregation of Moravian Brethren, on supposition of their agreement with the evangelical doctrine, might, and ought to, abide by the regulations and well-known church-discipline which they had maintained for these three hundred years; and yet preserve their connexion with the Lutheran church?” In order to elucidate the question still better, he annexed several documents, amongst which in particular *The final Declaration of the Moravian Brethren*, and *The Constitution of the Congregation*, as it was delivered in to the minister of the parish in 1733, contributed greatly, and beyond all the rest, both to the illustration of the situation of the congregation at that time, and the genuine mind of the Brethren concerning the evangelical doctrine and liturgy, and their own peculiar church-discipline.

The theological faculty, after mature deliberation, not only answered the question, propounded to them, roundly in the affirmative, in the celebrated *Opinion of Tuebingen*, dated April the 19th 1733; but, moreover, very amply and solidly evinced the truth of the supposition, viz. the agreement both of the ancient, and especially of the present, Moravian Brethren, with the evangelical doctrine, and the utility and necessity of their peculiar church-discipline and regulations.

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The famous Mr. *Buelfinger* was the person who drew up this *Opinion*, and chancellor *Pfaff* added an epilogue, or conclusion, containing a congratulation, and an exhortation to imitate the fervent zeal of their fathers. The faculty, moreover, printed this *Opinion*, together with all the documents, in the same form, as it has since, either entirely or in part, been inserted in various other writings.

§ 48.

THE order, mentioned § 42, sent to the count, to sell his estates, had nothing less in view, than that he should quit the country. It was even reported that his enemies were endeavouring to have him imprisoned in the fortress of *Koenigstein*; and he was secretly advised to withdraw from the danger. But this he would not comply with, lest it might be construed in him as shunning the cross. He, therefore, deferred his journey to *Tuebingen*, till his presence there should be necessary. Upon his way thither, he received at *Eberstdorf* from *Warsaw* the account of the king's death. Though he could now expect an alteration in his affairs, yet he went out of the country, complying with the proper intention of the royal command to sell his estates. On this account he used to call this journey, *His first Exile*. He resided for some time at *Eberstdorf*, from whence he took a journey to *Tuebingen*; where he, in company of *Martin Dober*, an helper from *Herrnhut*, and Mr. *Steinhofer*, M. A. chose to be himself present at the examination, which the theological faculty thought necessary, to show fully, and prove, the propriety of their *Opinion*. Yet, as to the occasion of it, viz. the vocation of Mr. *Steinhofer* to be an assistant to the parish-minister of *Bertholdsdorf*, he met with many difficulties. The greatest was, that he, by order of the court, should be substituted to the minister of *Bertholdsdorf*; but not joined in office with him; on which account he could not have lived

lived at Herrnhut, nor have ministered to the congregation, as it was requisite. He, therefore, returned his vocation, and accepted the call to be court-chaplain to count *Henry xxix Reufs* at *Ebersdorf*. The Moravian Brethren, however, gained so much by this event, that their doctrine and regulations were examined by a theological faculty, and found right, it being proved before the whole Lutheran church, that they might and ought to be permitted the peaceable and quiet use of their laudable orders and regulations, without being, on that account, excluded from the fellowship of the Lutheran church.

§ 49.

IN the mean time, the new sovereign of the country, soon after his accession to the government, April the 4th, confirmed, on the representation of the count, the conveyance of his estates to his lady; and granted both to him, and the exiles from Moravia, a residence in his dominions, as long as they should, respectively, demean themselves quietly and peaceably. But in regard to the *Schwenkfelders*, who had been received at *Bertholdsdorf* since the year 1725, as also by other states of the country, he gave orders that they should depart, though not in a body, but in small companies. In consequence of this, it was signified to them, on the part of the lord of the manor, to seek an habitation somewhere else. They resolved to go to *America*, entreating the count to assist them herein. At this very time some of the *Salzburgers* being on their way to *Georgia* in *America*, they were advised to go thither also. The count endeavoured to procure them a free passage and a good reception from the *Trustees* of the colony of *Georgia*. When they entered upon their journey in the year 1734, two Brethren were sent after them; who, at the request of some of them, were to lend their assistance towards their temporal and spiritual welfare. But the *Schwenkfelders* were no sooner arrived in *Holland*, but they were persuaded to go to *Pennsylvania*. They, indeed, obtained

tained there full liberty of conscience, and most of them found a sufficient maintenance : yet remained Schwenkfelders as before. They were, however, in the following years visited by Brethren from Georgia. These Brethren gave an account of the confused state of religion in Pennsylvania, under which many sincere souls sighed, and wished for a reformation. This afforded the first occasion for the subsequent colonies of the Brethren in this province.

§ 50.

THE Brethren at Herrnhut, and especially the Moravian exiles, saw plainly that the condition upon which they were permitted to stay in the country, viz. “ *as long as they should demean themselves quietly and peaceably,*” might, at any time, furnish the enemies of the count with an handle of troubling the court on their account, and so, of making their residence in Saxony very precarious. Besides this, the states of the country were forbidden, even in the year 1732, to receive any foreign subjects from *Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia*. Consequently, the Moravian exiles would have been obliged either to send away, without mercy, their Brethren who might afterwards follow them from Moravia, or give occasion to new uneasiness. This caused them to take into more serious consideration the proposals made among themselves soon after the commission in 1732, of settling colonies in countries where they should be gladly received, and be under no apprehension of creating either to the sovereign, or the local magistrates, who should protect them, any uneasiness on their account. In order that this might be conducted regularly and without show, and that no one might be induced to go away, whose removal would involve the lord of the manor where they had lived in any new troubles on their account ; the inhabitants of Herrnhut, soon after they had obtained the Opinion of the faculty of Tuebingen, divided themselves into two classes. One of them, consisting

chiefly of such, as were inhabitants of the country, and of other Lutherans, prepared to stay. The other class, principally comprehending the descendents of the Moravian Brethren, who maintained their ecclesiastical rights and privileges, laid themselves out for the establishment of colonies and missions. In this manner, they conceived they might both procure for their Brethren, who should yet follow them out of Moravia, a more quiet place of residence, and meet with an opportunity of being more useful, in other parts, and especially among the Heathens, with the grace they had received of the Lord, and with the jewel of church-discipline devolved upon them from their fathers.

§ 51.

BUT we must first see, how the count executed his design of entering into holy orders, mentioned § 46. He chose to enter upon it under the character of a candidate of divinity, who, as a private tutor, passes a regular examination of the clergy, and assists the ministers in preaching. A merchant at *Stralsund*, whose name was *Richter*, had solicited for a private tutor from *Herrnhut*. For, about this time, application was often made to *Herrnhut* for such tutors, catechets, inspectors of orphan-houses, and other faithful domestics; and many had been supplied with them from thence. The count being yet unknown in person at *Stralsund*, although the divines had already taken occasion, from father *Regent's* piece, to preach and write against him; he accepted this call himself, under the name of *Monsr. De Freydek* *; which he did, partly in order to experience the nature of the employment of such a domestic tutor; and partly, by submitting to such a trial under these rigidly orthodox divines, who had been appointed commissaries to the faculty at

* This is one of the titles of the counts of *Zinzendorf*.

Grypswald, and were moreover prejudiced against him, to see, how far he harmonized with the Lutheran system, as it is delivered in the various schools of the Lutheran religion. He arrived there March the 29th 1734, and soon waited upon the superintendent *Langemak*. This gentleman offered him the pulpit on the 5th Sunday in Lent, April the 11th. On this occasion, the conversation turned upon count *Zinzendorf* and his supposed errors. After speaking some time of his character, his tenets and writings, he made himself known to him; yet on the condition of keeping his name secret, in order to avoid a needless stir. At the same time, he accepted the offer to preach: and this was the first discourse he ever delivered from the pulpit. He farther requested of the superintendent a conference with him and Dr. *Sibeth*. From this conference, which began April the 18th, *Theses* were formed, which were signed both by the divines and by him. Besides this, he added some farther propositions, together with his private opinions. He writes himself, “ I told them by word of mouth, in writing, and
“ in five sermons, whatsoever I have, in all my life, believed and taught both in theory and practice; nay all
“ the mistakes I ever had made.” And in another place:
“ But, since several matters did not occur in this conference, which I thought proper for them to know, I examined all the rest of my past actions, expressions and
“ sentiments. And, because several things then occurred,
“ about which I could suppose these divines might possibly
“ be scrupulous, I ingenuously communicated such things
“ to them. But they retained their favourable opinion
“ of me.”

§ 52.

AT the conclusion of this conference, the count resigned his sword into the superintendent's hands, with the promise never to wear it any more; but, avoiding all secular employments,

ments, to be, for the future, only engaged in the work of the Lord. But before the testimonial of his orthodoxy, dated April the 26th, was issued, he, once more, declared his mind, his views, and his method, in a letter addressed to the divines; and set out on his return to Herrnhut on the 29th of April, with the blessing of the divines, and of many who had been edified by his sermons. From Herrnhut he notified this event, being his first public step into the ministry, to the queen of Denmark. He likewise communicated to Dr. *Loescher*, superintendent at Dresden, all the proceedings of this conference, for his information; giving him, upon some of his remarks, a farther explanation. But he did not think it either necessary or expedient to make it more public. For his aim had not been to *obtain a testimony from men*; but, to *bear a testimony before men* of his foundation, and of the inmost thoughts of his heart; that, by this occasion, he might see, whether, amidst all the dubious points spread abroad concerning him, and which he, of his own free-will, had himself still farther laid open, they could acknowledge him a worthy member of the Lutheran church, and a subject properly qualified for the ministry? But, since this conference has been laid before the public upon another occasion *, I will only communicate the contents in brief, or the principal points, which, in various propositions, he treated of with the divines.

Theses post institutum Colloquium utrinque mutuo consensu approbatæ.

Congressus I. De Scriptura sacra. Theses VII.

II. De Religione et Symbolis. Th. X.

III. De Prædestinatione. Th. V.

IV. De Sacramentis, Baptismo et sacra Coena.
Th. VIII.

V. De Ecclesia et Ministerio ecclesiastico. Th. V.

* See *Zedler's Universal Lexicon*, article *Zinzendorf*.

Congressus VI. De Justificatione et bonis Operibus. Th. VI.
VII. De Extremis. Th. II.

Each meeting, or interview, upon a chief article was signed as follows : *Nicol. Ludov. Zinzendorf. Gregorius Lange-mak, Doct. et Superint. Carol. Jac. Sibeth, Doct.*

To all the articles the count had added *Uberiores Mentis Declarationes*, or explications ; and at the conclusion a piece was annexed in six sections :

Sect. I. Private Opinions, not brought into Debate ; of which there were nine :

1. Concerning the Want of Cloisters in the Protestant Church.
2. Concerning Matrimony.
3. Concerning human Authority in the Church.
4. Concerning Conventicles, or private Meetings.
5. Concerning the Compulsion of Conscience (a) of the *Ministers*, who are forced to admit unconverted Persons to the Lord's Supper ; (b) of the *Hearers*, who are compelled to go to Church.
6. Concerning the Pedilavium.
7. Concerning the Method of treating Separatists.
8. Concerning Church-Discipline.
9. Concerning the secular Arm used against erroneous Consciences.

Sect. II. Concerning original Sin.

III. Concerning his Elocution, or Manner of preaching.

IV. Concerning his *Writings*. These were, at that time,

1. The small Catechism ; *Pure Milk*, &c.
2. The larger Catechism, *The Ground of the Christian Doctrine*, &c.
3. The Hymn-Book of Bertholdsdorf.

4. *Socrates*, a weekly Paper.
5. An Edition of the *Bible*, at the desire and expences of his Grand-Mother, Lady Henrietta Catharina de Gerfsdorf, Baroness of Friefe; commonly called, *The Bible of Ebersdorf*.
6. An *Apology* of 1729, in a Writing, called, *Ingenuous Accounts*.
7. *Carmina, Curricula Vitæ, &c.*
8. *Writings and Opinions*, published at Tuebingen in 1734, with the Preface of a Divine.
9. The *Hymn-Book* of 1731.

Se&ct. V. His public Acts *.

1. The Peace established between the Divines of Wittenberg and Halle.
2. His Conversation and Correspondence with Cardinal Noailles.
3. Five-Years-Care of the Gichtelians and Separatists at Dresden.
4. Reception of the Moravian Brethren.
5. Toleration of the Schwenkfelders.
6. Union of the Moravian Brethren with the Lutheran Doctrine and Liturgy.
7. *Collegium pastorale practicum* in Jena, 1728, in six Classes, in reference to (a) Doctrine, (b) Morals, (c) Spiritual Experience, (d) Deaconry, (e) Exhortation, (f) Care of the Sick.
8. Leading the Sects in Germany into the right Path, especially those of Berleburg and Schwarzenau.
9. Defence of private Meetings; which he calls a fruitless Labour.

* Some of these Acts, which are either merely personal, or have occurred before the building of Herrnhut, have been related in the *Memoirs of the Count's Life*, published in German, at Barby, in eight volumes, in 1772, and the following years.

10. Missions to the West-Indies, to Greenland and Lapland.
11. Restoration of the Constitution of the Moravian Brethren, by means of the *Opinion* of Tuebingen.
12. Avowal of a Minister of Herrnhut.
13. Public and special Preaching of the Cross.
14. Reconciliation with Dr. *Loescher*, and the Divines of Stralsund. And lastly,

Sect. VI. He discovered to the divines his future views, *viz.* of becoming a Lutheran minister, after the example of prince George of Anhalt.

Whether ever any candidate for holy orders has undergone such a rigorous examination, and, *unasked*, has, or ever will, so candidly lay open all the sentiments of his heart, his private opinions, his whole life, together with all his words and actions, which, even at that time, appeared dubious, and have since met with censures of so very different a nature; as also what might be expected of him for the time to come; admits of as much doubt, as it is certain, that he, every where, wheresoever it was necessary to be known, especially in the years 1733 and 1734 at *Tuebingen*, conducted himself with the same integrity.

§ 53.

BUT I must, in speaking of this year 1734, not forget a certain incident, which, inconsiderable as it might appear to some, was, in the event, of greater advantage to the count and the whole church of the Brethren, than all examinations, approbations, and encomiums. The congregation at Herrnhut stood, indeed, upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, so that grace and truth, and an overpowering blessing, acknowledged and enjoyed by a multitude of sincere souls, both in the neighbourhood, and at a distance,

distance, prevailed at the public sermons, as well as in private conversation, and in all the regulations, which were intended for the good of souls. But yet, it cannot be said, that they continued at all times to build simply upon this foundation. The discourses were instructive, but too diffusive, ethical, and, as to the leading of the souls, in a great measure, mystical, legal, and anxious. About the beginning of this year, a great alteration in this respect took place. The count, since his intercourse with *Dippel*, and other persons of a singular stamp, respecting their various methods of attaining salvation and holiness, was led to a closer examination of his own foundation, which may well be called a real *Tentatio theologica* (a theological trial.) This occasioned a profound meditation upon the doctrine of the atonement of Jesus. "This gave me (as he himself writes) a
 " clear insight into the whole doctrine of salvation, of which
 " I made the first happy experiment in my own heart,
 " ——— and, at length, upon the hearts of my dear brethren
 " and fellow-labourers, where it had its full effect. Since
 " the year 1734, the propitiatory sacrifice of Jesus became
 " our peculiar, public, and only matter, our universal remedy against all evil, both in doctrine and practice; and
 " will remain so to all eternity."

I have heard of a very particular circumstance, evidently directed by Providence, which happened on this occasion. The count, having thrown some papers, which were of no farther use, into the fire, they were all consumed, excepting one small billet, on which was written the daily word for the 14th of February, *He chuses us to be his inheritance, the excellency of Jacob whom he loveth.* (Psal. xlvii. 4. according to Luther's version.) Under which the old Lutheran verse stood:

" O let us in thy nail-prints see
 " Our pardon and election free."

All the Brethren and Sisters who saw this billet, the only one which remained unconsumed among the cinders, were filled

filled with a childlike joy ; and it gave them an occasion to an heart-felt conversation with each other upon the wounds of Jesus, which was attended with such a blessed effect, as to make an happy alteration in their way of thinking and type of doctrine. The count composed upon this verse, the incomparable hymn :

“ *Jesu, our glorious Head and Chief,*

“ *Sweet object of our heart’s belief!*

“ *O let us in thy nail-prints see*

“ *Our pardon and election free,” &c.*

This is the very first hymn in the second Part of the old *Hymn-book of Herrnbut*, and may be found in the new edition of it, printed at London 1752, in N°. 2032 *.

This pure evangelical mind having taken full possession of the count’s heart, he, in this first fire, set out, in the spring 1734, for his examination at *Stralsund*, and in autumn the same year, for *Tuebingen*, with a view to enter into holy orders.

§ 54.

THE state of the case was this. The Moravian Brethren, though very well satisfied with the Lutheran ministry at Bertholdsdorf, could no longer remain together at *Herrnbut*; but began, as we shall soon see, to spread abroad in colonies and missions. They could not every where expect such equitable treatment in ecclesiastical matters, as they enjoyed in *Upper Lusatia*, that ministers should be allowed, or ordained for, them, who were according to their own mind, and who, agreeable to the tenor of the Opinion of *Tuebingen*, would leave them at liberty, together with the evangelical doctrine, to retain the church-discipline they had brought with them. From this motive, the count was intent upon providing a sufficient number of candidates for the ministry, that he

* This hymn is also to be found, translated into English, in the *Collection of Hymns*, printed at London in 1754. See Part II. page 5. (The Editor.)

might be able not only to furnish the Brethren with ministers for their colonies and missions, but also to gratify his friends of the clergy and laity in divers countries, who had solicited him for catechets and domestic tutors. He had, besides, another point in view, which was not the effect of ambition, but was intended only to obviate a certain impropriety. He wished to enter into the clerical Order in such a way, as might not, according to the usual way of thinking, reflect any disgrace upon the royal order of *Danebrog*, conferred upon him by the king of Denmark. Both these views he thought to attain, by restoring, at his own expences, the decayed Protestant cloister of *St. George*, in the dukedom of Wuerttemberg; and, under the character of a prelate of the Wuerttemberg church, founding a theological seminary. For this end, he caused the question to be put to duke *Charles Alexander* of *Wuerttemberg*, by *Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg*, A. M. who, in 1733, was come from Halle to Herrnhut; and, on the 20th of October 1734, he received the following answer from the head-quarters at *Heidelberg*: “ That the duke had
 “ all due regard for the count, and for his zeal for the pro-
 “ pagation of the kingdom of God. But since both this,
 “ and his intention of entering into holy orders, were of an
 “ extraordinary nature; his nomination to be a Wuerten-
 “ berg prelate would attract the attention of the world,
 “ and awaken a suspicion against him (the duke) among
 “ the Roman Catholics *.”

* It is hardly ever known in Germany, that one of high nobility enters into holy orders. This made the count's proceedings appear extraordinary there. The duke, though sovereign of a Protestant country, was a Roman Catholic, which made him timorous to renew a Protestant prelacy which had ceased for some time. (The Editor.)

§ 55.

AT the same time Mr. *Spangenberg*, at his own motion, and without any commission for it, put the question to the divines of *Tuebingen*, whether it were advisable and requisite for the count to assume a clerical character, that so he might preach the gospel in a more justifiable manner before the world? For this question had been agitated even at *Herrnhut*, where the count found it necessary to clear the matter up to his lady, and to the helpers of the congregation. Thus, the following questions were proposed to the before-mentioned divines, and particularly to chancellor *Pfaff*, “What “ is meant by an internal call of God to the ministry? “ What are the evidences of it?” And, “Whether” (having laid before them certain evidences which appeared in the count) “his call was such as to qualify him for entering “ into holy orders?” Upon these queries, chancellor *Pfaff* delivered a learned and ample Opinion, dated September the 19th 1734, a *Summary* of which may be read in the *Buedingen-Collection*, (vol. i. p. 46.) and a larger *Abstract* in Mr. *Lelong’s Account*, &c.

But before the count could have been apprised of this transaction, he himself, on the 8th of November, gave notice of his intention to enter into holy orders, to the directory of the *Wuertenberg* church at *Stutgard*; and received an answer, importing, that his laudable design met with their approbation; that they wished him grace, wisdom, and power from above, assuring him of all love and requisite assistance on their part to this end. Consequently he, without farther delay, hastened to *Tuebingen*, and, on December the 18th, 1734, wrote that charming *Declaration*, so well worth reading, concerning his motives for, and manner of, devoting himself to the service of God, which begins with these words, *Tener adhuc credidi*, &c. and concludes, *Miser sum*. (I am poor and needy.) *He helpeth the poor gloriously*. The theological faculty got this declaration printed in a *Programma*, dated the

19th of December, and thus received him into the clerical order, for which he had been preparing himself so many years, and had passed his examination but a few months before *. And that very day (it was the fourth Sunday in Advent, the 19th of December) he preached, in the Collegiate church, upon John i. 19—29. *Of the Witnesses of the Lamb*; and on the 21st of December, in the Hospital church, upon John xx. 21, & seq. *Of the View of the Election of Grace*: upon which occasion the hymn, *Jesu, our glorious Head and Chief*, &c. appeared in print.

§ 56.

WE must now go a few years back, to see the beginnings of the missions, and soon after of the colonies of the Brethren, for which, according to § 50, they had prepared themselves. The desire of preaching the gospel to the Heathens had been moving in them even in 1728, and the opportunity for it was given them in 1731. (§ 37.) In the year 1732, the beginning of the first mission was made. *Leonhard Dober* and *David Nitschmann* senior, set out, August the 21st, from *Herrnhut*, by way of *Copenhagen*, where they neither sought nor found human support, for *St. Thomas* in the West-Indies, and arrived there on the 12th of December. A common planter, to whom they brought a letter from his sister in *Copenhagen*, took them into his house, and *David Nitschmann* earned their livelihood, working as a carpenter.

* At *Tuebingen* he was not indeed examined with the same formality and solemnity, as at *Stralsund*; but the year before, by occasion of the *Opinion* of the theological faculty of *Tuebingen*, (§ 47.) a still longer and stricter examination had taken place, with respect both to his person and doctrine, and to the congregation at *Herrnhut*, and its constitution. He also found it necessary, on account of the *Order of Danebrog*, previously to acquaint the court of Denmark with his design, and his motives for it. And whereas he was no longer allowed to wear this order in the manner in which the dignified clergy in other countries wear the insignia of the orders, as he had begun to do in the pulpit; he requested, and in 1736 received, the permission to return it.

On

On the return of the latter, fourteen weeks after, (for he had only made the voyage as a companion to the former,) *Leonhard Dober* was taken into the house of governor *Gardelin*, who was a pious gentleman, as steward of his household. But since he did not, in this capacity, find time and opportunity sufficient to attend to the Negroes, he hired an house of his own; where, as his trade, as potter, could not be followed here, he lived in very great poverty. Immediately on his arrival, he sought for the Negro *Anthony's* sister, and their brother *, whose desire had been the principal occasion of this voyage; and preached to them the salvation purchased by Jesus for all men, even the most despised Negro-slaves. The joy with which they received these glad tidings, gave him new courage. They were soon followed by more, who, having received the word in faith, were, some time after, baptized.

It was then a dangerous time in St. Thomas. The bloody flux carried off many Negroes, and *Leonhard* was obliged to be constantly among them. In the island of *St. Jan*, the Negroes rebelled in the year 1733, and, having seized upon the fort and the whole island, massacred all the Europeans who could not escape their rage. This rebellion lasted eight months; nor could it be totally suppressed till the governor of *Martinico* sent a large reinforcement of Mulattoes, who drove the rebels from place to place. And, as these had, at length, no farther place to withdraw or flee to, they killed one another, and the ringleader shot himself last of all.

In the year 1734, the first colony from *Herrnhut* for *St. Croix*, arrived at St. Thomas; of which more shall be

* At their baptism they were called *Anna* and *John Abraham*. They are now with the Lord. But their brother *Anthony*, who had proved the occasion of their salvation, was, on his way from *Herrnhut*, by false Brethren made to stumble touching the congregation; and after his return to St. Thomas, being fallen into deplorable circumstances, came to a miserable end.

related soon. With these Brethren, *Leonhard* received his recal, having been chosen elder of the congregation at Herrnhut, in the place of the late *Martin Linner*. He set out on his return for Herrnhut, August the 12th, 1734, having taken a Negro-boy with him, whom he had purchased from a Guinea-ship. This youth was, in 1735, baptized in the congregation at *Ebersdorf* by the court-chaplain *Steinhofer*, and called *Joshua*. He departed this life in 1736. This was the first-fruits of the Negroes. One of his sponsors was *Frederic Martin*, who set out immediately after for *St. Thomas*, to succeed *Leonhard Dober* in the work begun there. In his company was *Dr. Grothaus*, a celebrated physician from *Copenhagen*; who, upon the information that many Brethren died in *St. Croix*, went thither, without the knowledge and consent of the congregation, to assist the sick Brethren; but immediately on his arrival, he himself departed this life. *Frederic Martin*, and his assistants, found soon such an entrance among the Negroes, that, in a few years, amidst all oppression and impediments, the blessing spread to hundreds. They could not administer baptism, as none of them had been ordained before they went: but *Frederic Martin* received the ordination afterwards in writing. However, the first-fruits in *St. Thomas* were baptized by the Rev. Mr. *Spangenberg*, at his visit there, on the 30th of September 1736, and called *Andrew*, *Peter*, and *Nathanael**.

§ 57.

THE second mission was undertaken on the 19th of January 1733, to *Greenland*. The occasion of it has been related § 37. The Brethren *Christian David*, *Matthew Stach*, and *Christian Stach*, having met with many friends and patrons at *Copenhagen*, at court, among the king's ministers,

* See *Oldendorp's Account of the Mission in St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. Jan*, published at Barby, 1777.

the college of missions, and other divines, set sail for Greenland on the 10th of April, recommended by the king. Soon after their arrival, on the 20th of May, they built an house not far from the colony of *Godhaab*, on Ball's river, which they called *New Herrnhut*. They endeavoured to learn the language, and to enter into an useful intercourse with the Heathen, but met with many difficulties; among which that which seemed the most distressing was, that almost all the Greenlanders of that district had been carried off by the small pox. In the year 1734 they received two assistants, *John Beck* and *Frederic Boehnisch*, and agreed with one another, that they would faithfully hold out, in hunger and distress, by hard and hazardous labour, amidst contempt on all sides, in danger of life among the incensed savages, by a supposed desertion of their brethren and friends at Copenhagen, by an apparent unfruitfulness, nay impossibility of access to the hearts of the Heathen; and in many other hardships and difficulties attending the mission in the first years. They had, indeed, the joy of baptizing, in the year 1739, the first-fruits, *Samuel Kajarnak*, and his family: but he was soon obliged to flee from the murderers. Yet he returned again in the year 1740, and drew many Greenlanders after him, to whom he, on his flight, had preached the gospel. A great awakening arose soon after among the Greenlanders; and, in a few years, the congregation of baptized, regulated so orderly, as could hardly have been thought possible among savages, increased to such a degree, that they were obliged to think of a second congregation from among the Heathen, which, in 1758, was begun at *Lichtenfels*, in the *Fishers Bay*; and which, together with that at New Herrnhut, is yet flourishing, and in blessing; as may be more fully seen in my *History of Greenland*, &c. published in 1765, and in the *Continuation* of it, printed in 1770*.

* The *Continuation* has not yet been translated, and printed in English. (The Editor.)

§ 58.

BUT before I proceed to show how the missions furnished an occasion for the colonies, I must yet briefly take notice of the well-intended, though frustrated, attempt to form a mission among the *Laplanders* and *Samojedes*. On Epiphany, January the 6th, 1734, while accounts of the kingdom of God were read at Herrnhut, and the messengers among Christians and Heathens commended to the Lord in prayer, many Brethren signified their readiness also to go among the Heathen; and *Andrew Grafmann*, *Daniel Schneider*, and *John Nitschmann*, offered themselves to make a trial in *Lapland*. They were dispatched with this instruction, that they should not go into such parts where there were missionaries already; but into those which had not been visited by any: that they might not be in the way of any one*. In May, they arrived at *Stockholm*; and, having acquired the Swedish language, proved a blessing to many souls there. In 1735, they repaired to *Tornea* in Lapland; and, having learned the language of that country also, travelled through all Swedish Lapland. But as they found every where preparations made for the conversion of the Laplanders, they resolved to go to Russian Lapland. Thus, in 1736, the two first went back again to Stockholm, where they found *Michael Miksch*, he being come thither to relieve John Nitschmann, who returned to Herrnhut in 1735. Andrew Grafmann set out from hence for *Koenigsberg* to have an interview with the count on his return from Livonia. In 1737, in the beginning of the year, these three Brethren met in *Reval*, and travelled together to *Moscow* and *Arch-*

* The instructions given to the Heathen missionaries in the East, were sent after these Brethren in 1736. If this be taken together with the instruction given in general to all the Heathen missionaries, it shows the sentiments of the Brethren in this affair, even then, before they could yet speak from experience of conversions among the Heathen.

angel. In *Moscow* they became acquainted with sensible and pious persons, who forwarded them on their journey to *Archangel*. Here they got acquainted with some *Samojedes*, who were willing to take them with them. But, on their applying for a passport, they were suspected to be Swedish spies; on the 13th of February 1738 taken up, and, after having been kept in separate places of confinement, and examined, five weeks after, brought to *Petersburg*. Their guard was in the beginning very severe towards them; but in time, and after observing their Christian meekness and submissiveness, treated them with more mildness. Having been once obliged to cross in a thaw a frozen lake, the ice broke under the sledge not far from the shore. Two of the Brethren and two of the soldiers fell into the water. The third brother helped the soldiers and the Brethren out again. They afterwards acknowledged and praised the integrity of the Brethren; who saved their lives, instead of leaving them to be drowned, and recovering their liberty by flight. In *Petersburg* they suffered a second confinement of five weeks, during which they were frequently examined. Their simplicity and uprightness helped them through. They met with great kindness from some gentlemen; and a certain great minister, being convinced of their innocence and good design, furnished them with a passport to *Lubeck*, with these words, "Ye may go your way, good people; your service is not wanted here. Possibly the time may soon come, when ye will be sent for; and then ye may come again." This also actually came to pass*.

Even in the year 1735, David Nitschmann, junior, made a journey to *Petersburg*, with a view to find out the way to the *Calmucs*, and to the descendants of the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, who were supposed to dwell on mount

* The Brethren *Andrew Grafmann* and *Daniel Schneider* have since been in *Greenland*; *Michael Miksch* went to *North America*, and *John Nitschmann* is at this time in the neighbourhood of the *Calmucs* on the river *Volga*.

Caucasus. (See *The Ancient History*, § 16.) Though the aim was not obtained, yet Nitschmann got sundry important accounts, and made a friendly acquaintance with a minister there, which was of great use to the above messengers to *Lapland*, during their imprisonment at *Petersburg*.

§ 59.

THE missions to *St. Thomas* and *Greenland* were the occasion to the *first colony*; as indeed most of the colonies were established for the sake of the missions. The Brethren who went to *Greenland*, found a patron at *Copenhagen* in the lord chamberlain *De Pless*; who not only promoted their voyage; but, upon hearing of the mission to *St. Thomas*, was disposed to countenance and assist this also. In the year 1733 the *West-India and Guinea-Company* at *Copenhagen*, having made a purchase of the large and fine island of *St. Croix*, which had been abandoned by the French for the space of forty years, and during that time had again become a wilderness, were desirous of occupying and cultivating it anew. The lord chamberlain believed, that the lands he had taken up there, would be best cultivated, and the Negroes at the same time converted, if he did commit them to the care of some of the *Moravian Brethren*, being convinced of their industry and faithfulness in bodily labour, and of their zeal for the salvation of souls. With this view he addressed himself to the count, requesting two Brethren as overseers for each of the six plantations he was going to plant. The *Moravian exiles* being, according to § 50, intent upon forming colonies, many were willing to go into a country, where, beside their outward labour, they would also have an opportunity of being serviceable to the Heathen. The count had his doubts about this affair, being apprehensive that the Brethren might be diverted from their chief object by the cares of this life, and sustain damage in their souls. But the majority of the votes of the congregation-

tion-council being for it, he acquiesced. Out of those who had offered themselves, four married couples and ten Brethren were selected, and *Tobias Leupold*, who in 1731 had offered himself for the mission to St. Thomas, was appointed their warden. They set out on the 18th, 19th, and 20th of August 1733 from Herrnhut for Copenhagen, and were accompanied by Spangenberg to that city. They were, however, obliged to winter in Norway, and did not arrive at St. Thomas till June the following year, 1734, after an extremely difficult voyage, during which many of them, very probably, contracted disorders. *Leonhard Dober*, who was better acquainted with the nature of the country, was affrighted at the unexpected arrival of so many inexperienced persons, who were to cultivate again plantations, which had been abandoned for forty years, and were now run to ruin, the country being again quite overgrown with tall trees and thick underwood, through which the easterly winds could not pass, and carry off the unwholesome vapours. But they had good courage, and soon went to St. Croix with twelve Negroes, sparing themselves so little in this sultry and unhealthy climate, that they all fell sick, and ten of them departed this life soon after their arrival. In the year 1735 endeavours were used to supply their places by a new colony of eleven persons; and *Dr. Grothaus*, as mentioned § 56, went thither also to assist them; yet this colony did not answer the purpose, since various by-views had crept in among them. Those who were not carried off, amidst their faithful labour among the Heathen, (which, however, then proved almost entirely fruitless,) of whom only nine remained out of the twenty-nine forementioned persons, partly returned, and partly repaired to the mission in St. Thomas, which had been undertaken, without any human support, purely for the conversion of the Heathen. But yet, that the bodies of these, who thus fell asleep in the Lord, became grains of wheat, which, since 1740, when merely a mission was begun there, have produced abundant fruit; is now as evident to the eye, as

it was to faith, when, on the first news of their death, the congregation sang,

- “ Ten in the earth were sown as seed,
 “ Lost to man’s expectation ;
 “ Yet on their graves our faith doth read,
 “ *Seed of the Negro-nation.*”

§ 60.

THE *second colony* was to have settled upon the coast of the Baltic, in *Ducal Holstein* ; and the view was to have sent thither those *Moravians* who continued to come to Herrnhut, but could not be received in Saxony, nor, in conscience, sent back to their own country. The ambassador from Holstein at Ratisbon had been consulted on this head, who gave good hopes. *Daniel Ernest Jablonsky*, then antistes of the Brethren’s Unity, furnished *David Nitschmann* the elder, who, with four other Brethren set out on the 25th of September 1734 for *Kiel*, with a testimonial and letter of recommendation. The Brethren were to settle there after the model of Herrnhut, that is, as Moravian Brethren, who, agreeably to the opinion of the theological faculty of Tuebingen, would remain in connexion with the Lutheran church, retaining at the same time the liberty to chuse their own ministers, and, upon the sovereign’s confirmation, to induct them ; and to maintain the church-discipline and good order inherited from their fathers, as established at Herrnhut. They pitched upon a spot for their settlement near *Newminster*, and the duke showed an inclination to receive them, and to grant their request. However, the consistory raised difficulties, and refused to grant them the liberties they had required. They, indeed, declared by a memorial, that they held, and would abide by, the pure Protestant doctrine ; also that they would present their ministers for examination, conforming to the usages of the Lutheran church, and regulating their own congregation-

tion-constitution with such discretion, as to occasion no reflections upon it. But the answer having been given in the negative, they, in the beginning of the year 1736, repaired to *Royal Holstein*, waiting for the good advice of their Brethren, whether they should embrace the proposals they had received, of settling here, or betake themselves to some other place? How it went farther with this colony, we shall find in the ensuing Part.

§ 61.

THE *third colony* went to *Georgia* in North America. The occasion to it was, that the count, at the solicitation of the *Schwenkfelders*, who were withdrawing from *Bertholdsdorf*, (§ 49.) had sought a settlement for them there, and on that account written to the *Trustees* of *Georgia*. When the *Schwenkfelders* afterwards went to other parts, these gentlemen, unwilling to give the affair up, made the count an offer of a piece of land for a settlement. As there was reason to hope that, by this means, a way might be opened to the Indians in those parts, particularly the *Creeks* and *Cherokees*, who showed themselves well affected towards the English; some Brethren resolved to go thither. The first company set out from *Herrnhut* in November 1734, furnished with a testimonial from Mr. *Steinhofer*, recommending them as exiles who, indeed, wished that the government might grant them, with liberty of conscience, an opportunity of propagating the gospel among the Heathen; but who neither desired any personal emolument, nor would complain of former oppressions, to the disadvantage of any one*. At *London* they found Mr. *Spangenberg*, who had nearly concluded every thing relative to their passage and settlement with the trustees, and with general *Oglethorpe*, then governor of *Georgia*; and had, on this occasion, made an acquaintance with some of the bishops of the church of

* This precaution was highly requisite, on account of the situation of the courts of *Vienna* and *London* at that time; and it was found necessary to repeat it frequently by word of mouth.

England, who obtained thereby such knowledge of the Brethren, that they were not only willing to see them settled in the English colonies, but even offered, of their own accord, if it should be desired, to ordain any Brother; which, however, was not thought necessary.

This colony arrived in *Georgia* in the spring 1735, and received in summer a considerable encrease of Brethren, conducted by *David Nitschmann*, senior. Three zealous ministers of the church of England, namely, Mr. *John Wesley*, afterwards one of the principal preachers of the so-called *Methodists*, together with his brother *Charles*, and Mr. *Benjamin Ingham*, went with them in the same ship to *Georgia*. This was the occasion to the first acquaintance of the Brethren with many awakened souls in England, as will farther appear hereafter. The Brethren began immediately their settlement in the town of *Savannah*; and God so blessed their industry, that they were not only soon in a capacity of maintaining themselves, but also of being serviceable to their neighbours. They erected a school-house for the children of the Indians, on the river *Savannah*, four English miles above the town; which they and their king *Tomo Tschatschi* came to see, that they might, as they expressed it, *hear the great word*. Consequently, this colony presented a fair prospect, both with respect to the settlement itself, (for in the year 1738 they had already paid off all the money advanced to them) and the conversion of the Heathen, till, in 1739, the war which began in 1737 with the neighbouring Spaniards broke out anew, and they were called upon to take up arms against them. This obliged them, after defraying all the expences incurred on their account, and abandoning their well cultivated land and their houses, to withdraw to *Pennsylvania*, as we shall see in the following Part.

§ 62.

THE Rev. Mr. *Spangenberg*, on his journey through Holland to England, in order to forward the Brethren to Georgia, made enquiry concerning the state of *Surinam* in South America, where the *Surinam Company* in Holland were settling colonies, and inviting people from all countries to form them. Being under a necessity of addressing the company in writing, and wanting a person capable of translating the writings he was furnished with, into Low Dutch, he was directed to *Isaac Lelong*, whose employ this was. He made *Spangenberg*, and at the same time the congregation of the Brethren, known to many religious persons and clergymen, by means of the pieces he had to translate; and *Spangenberg* formed an useful connection with them. This was the first acquaintance of the Brethren in Holland. Upon the memorial which he presented, a committee of the company was nominated, with whom he treated touching the conditions upon which the Brethren would form a settlement in *Surinam*. In summer 1735 the first three Brethren set off on their voyage thither. Their object was, to obtain a more complete knowledge of the country, and more especially of the Heathen there. They were followed in 1738 and 1740 by some other Brethren, having obtained a grant from the directors of the company. They purchased and cultivated a plantation, not far from *Paramaribo*, and laboured among the Negroes and Indians, and also among the Jews in those parts; and their labour seemed not in vain. But being troubled on account of having meetings in their own habitation, which their neighbours frequented in great numbers; and afterwards dissensions arising among the Brethren themselves; they determined in 1745 to leave the colony, some of them withdrawing to *Pennsylvania*, and some to the neighbouring *Rio de Berbice*. From hence the Brethren were in 1754 invited again to *Surinam*,

when not only their former privileges were renewed, but more doors to the Heathen opened; as we shall see in its place.

§ 63.

By this time, the Brethren were spread abroad in several colonies and missions, and had a fair prospect of settling more. They, of course, wanted ministers who were regularly ordained. They could not reasonably expect that a sufficient number of subjects, properly qualified for the arduous undertaking of settling missions among the Heathen, would be found ready and willing in the Lutheran church, with which, in other respects, they remained in close connexion; nor, that, in defect of such, the consistories would be willing to ordain for the ministry any Moravian Brethren, proposed by themselves, however well qualified, though illiterate. They stood in need of an ordination, which the most rigid Episcopalians in the English colonies must acknowledge; that so, their administering holy baptism, and other ecclesiastical functions, might be deemed valid. Thus they found themselves under a necessity of reviving the episcopal ordination of their forefathers, in the branch of the Moravian Brethren which was now shooting up afresh. This ordination had been acknowledged in England*; although it was extinct in the last Bohemian-Moravian bishop *Comenius*, and existed now only in the Polish branch of the Unity of the Brethren. The count had, for divers reasons, hitherto discountenanced it; and the more, from an apprehension, lest the Brethren might furnish a new occasion of contention to such as would have been glad to exclude them from the fellowship of the Protestant church, or to make them a particular religion or sect. But, with a view to

* See *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia, Report, &c.* p. 6. App. p. 41.

furnish them with duly qualified candidates for the ministry, he had in 1728 done all he could to bring to effect the *Collegium pastorale practicum* at *Jena*, mentioned § 24, and afterwards, in 1734, a *Seminary* in the dukedom of *Wuerttemberg*. (§ 54.) But, as he could not attain his aim either way, he was necessitated to comply with the desire of the Moravian Brethren to have the episcopal ordination and church-privileges of their fathers renewed. The choice fell upon *David Nitschmann*, senior, who, amongst other functions in the congregation, was one of those who had begun the mission in *St. Thomas*, and was, at this very time, about to set out upon a visitation in the colonies and missions; having also this year conducted a reinforcement to the colony in *Georgia*, (§ 61.) from whence he went to *Pennsilvania*, with a view to go from thence on a visitation to *St. Thomas* and *St. Croix*. But, being prevented, he resigned this commission to *Spangenberg*. The count had already carried on a correspondence with *Dr. Jablonsky*, then the eldest bishop, or senior, of the Brethren's Unity, about the renewal of the episcopal ordination. *David Nitschmann* had also visited him several times, and was examined and approved by him. He, therefore, was, in the name of the Moravian Brethren, presented by the count, as their present warden, in a letter of March the 6th 1735, to *Jablonsky*, and by him, with the fore-knowledge and concurrence of his colleague, the senior *Sitkovius* of *Lissa* in *Poland*, on the 13th of March 1735, in presence of some witnesses of the Bohemian nation, consecrated at *Berlin* a bishop, or senior, of the congregations of the Moravian Brethren; "having, at the same time, full powers given him to hold the incumbent visitations, to ordain the ministers and servants of the church there resident, and to perform all the other functions belonging to a senior and antistes of the church."

§ 64.

IN the mean time, the count had received certain information, that the congregation of the Brethren, and especially his own person, had been very much traduced in places where one should least of all have suspected it, particularly at the court of *Denmark*, on account of divers words and actions misconstrued or falsely related. In order that this might have no hurtful influence upon the missions among the Heathens in the Danish dominions; he found it necessary, himself to make a journey in 1735 to *Copenhagen*, to solicit the king for an *Examination* in presence of the theological faculty. But he received for answer, that no such thing was necessary, seeing no one had as yet lodged any formal complaint against him. He, therefore, hastened his return through *Schonen*, by way of *Ny Stadt*, that he might be again at *Herrnhut* by *Whitsuntide*. This expeditious journey through a small part of Sweden, gave occasion to a new accusation and reply. For soon after, a rescript appeared from *Stokholm*, “ That, although the count
 “ had preached at *Stralsund*; yet now, on account of many
 “ errors, he had been desired at *Copenhagen* to leave the
 “ country; and that, as he was supposed to intend settling
 “ in Sweden, proper means should be used to prevent it.” This obliged him to publish the *Letter to the King of Sweden*, printed in December 1735 at *Ratisbon*, which was distributed to all the Protestant ambassadors at their houses; and especially sent to the kings of *Poland* and *Prussia*, accompanied with very submissive letters under his own hand. In the letter to the king of Sweden he previously guards against any notion, as if it were a new confession of faith; but rather, having been written out of the fulness of his heart, it was to evince, in what manner he comprehended the mind of the fathers, after whom he did not only speak with his lips, but believed and confessed their sentiments with his

his heart. Afterwards he explains himself amply and solidly, and almost always in the same terms, upon each article of the *Confession of Augsburg*, as being his own confession, and that of the Brethren. This letter was received with uncommon eagerness, even by the Catholic states themselves, and silenced many machinations of the enemies, who would have been glad to see the Brethren expelled the Roman empire; as indeed it cannot be looked upon by any one in any other light, than as a solemn declaration of their adhering to the Augustan confession.

§ 65.

IN the beginning of the year 1736, the count, as though he had an intimation that he should be, for a long season, removed to a distance from them, held with the elders and helpers at Herrnhut many important conferences concerning the doctrine and practice, as also the congregation-regulation, their deportment towards the established religion, and towards erroneous persons, &c. and, in consequence of an invitation, set out in February for *Holland*. The Brethren were already known here by occasion of their voyage to *Georgia*. (§ 62.) The following year, 1735, *David Nitschmann*, junior, came to *Holland*; and in 1736, *Frederic Martin*, who, with his company, were bound for *St. Thomas*, by way of *Curassao*; and these were all lovingly received by the friends, (as the term there is) and introduced to more acquaintance. Mean while, *Lelong*, having had several accounts concerning Herrnhut and the Moravian Brethren from *Spangenberg* to translate, communicated them to the public through the press with many encomiums, in his book, *Godts Wonderen met zyne Kerke*. (The Wonders of God with his Church.) Indeed, this caused much admiration and enquiry in *Holland*: but met with the entire disapprobation of the count, who at all times was, least of all,

pleased with praises, and to whom, now especially, it would have been most desirable to have remained unnoticed of the world. The princess dowager of *Orange* made enquiry, by a letter to him, concerning the authenticity of these accounts, and the situation of the Moravian Brethren; inviting him at the same time to make her a visit at *Leuwarden*, and wishing to have a colony of Moravian Brethren in her barony of *Yffelsheim*. At the same time, the Brethren had been solicited by some of the most considerable personages, in church and state, to send missions to *Surinam*, *Rio de Berbice*, *Guinea*, and *Curassao*; and some friends had offered to supply the mission in *Greenland*, which was at that time in great distress, with the necessary provisions from Holland. Moreover, the Brethren had a view to settle missions among the *Hottentots* and *Cingalese*.

These affairs induced the count to make a journey with his lady, in the beginning of the year 1736, to *Amsterdam*. He commenced an acquaintance with many divines of the Reformed church; who, notwithstanding his dissent from them in the controverted points, (with regard to which he, as an undisguised Lutheran, openly avowed his own sentiments,) honoured and loved him as a particular servant of God; as he likewise, on his part, with respect to the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion, conceived much more favourable notions of them, than are usually entertained by persons at a distance. He conferred with the directors of the East and West India companies, in reference to the missions desired; all of which, excepting *Curassao*, were in a few years brought to effect. In the house he had hired for himself, and for the accommodation of the Brethren who were come partly with him, and partly from other places to meet him, he kept his usual family-devotions, which were attended by many ministers, magistrates, and other well disposed persons. But as, for want of room, all the people who gathered at the door could not come in, it occasioned a sort of mob, which obliged him to drop
the

the meetings. He had much intercourse with the *Mennonists* and their teachers, whom he warned against Crypto-Socinianism, and actually rescued some of them from it. Nor was his conversation without some benefit, even to the celebrated *Artemonius*, or *Samuel Crellius* *, who also sought an interview with him; and it proved especially a lasting blessing to the two daughters of this man. On his journey to *Leuwarden*, he visited in *Groningen*, where he preached in the Lutheran church. But, whether his interviews with divers literati were either misunderstood, or wrested to a different sense; or his firm adherence, in particular, to the doctrine of the universal grace of God, gave offence; certain it is, that they in the sequel gave occasion to many bitter polemical treatises against him. And as all the people, who had attended his meetings at Amsterdam, were looked upon as *Herrnhuters*; all the strange notions and expressions of some of them were, on the one hand, charged upon him; and, on the other, to render him very odious, he was accused of adopting and warranting all the opinions of these people, how contradictory soever; that, having thus got a party among the people, he might, upon some favourable opportunity, strengthen the party of the prince of Orange, which was at that time oppressed. This imputation brought afterwards great sufferings upon him and the Brethren.

* The writings of *Artemonius*, or *Samuel Crellius*, are well known. He was a Socinian, and a leader of that party. He is still quoted as one of their strongest advocates; but the endless mercy of our Lord was also manifest in him. He not only rejoiced to see his daughters bow their knees to the Crucified; but he himself, turning to that Lord, called upon him as his Lord and his God; and found, at the latter end of his life, no consolation but in the atonement by the blood of Jesus, and wished that all his books could die with him. This has been testified not only by his daughters, but by all who were with him before his end. (The Editor.)

§ 66.

BUT let us first take a view of the immediate consequences of this journey. These were, a *colony* of the Brethren in *Holland*, and several missions among the Heathen, which shall be specified in the next Part. As to the colony, after many proposals, at length a spot was fixed upon for it near the town of *Ysselstein*, which was immediately in 1736 occupied by some Brethren called from the colony in *Holstein*. Much as the princess of Orange wished to have this colony soon brought to bear, yet certain difficulties arose, which, in the beginning of the year 1737, were removed, after the count himself had, in a letter to the princess, first obviated the inconvenience which might accrue to the barony, if the colonists should be indulged with such privileges, as might either render the old inhabitants envious and discontented, or the new, unserviceable. The principal view with this colony, which was called *Heerendyk*, was, partly, to settle the Brethren, who had been dismissed from the principality of *Holstein*, in this place; and partly, to have a spot in *Holland*, where the missionaries sent to the Heathen might sojourn, preparing for their voyage, and furnishing themselves with the needful sea-stores, before they went on board. This last view was attained. Although the troubles which soon followed, would never allow this colony to make any considerable increase; yet it proved a blessing to many persons, till the year 1746, when the Brethren settled at *Zeist* in the see of *Utrecht*: because they saw there with their own eyes the direct opposite to all that which, by reports and books, had been spread abroad to the disadvantage of the Brethren.

THE
MODERN HISTORY
OF THE
BRETHREN.

PART IV.

*From the second Commission at Herrnhut in 1736,
to Count Zinzendorf's second Voyage to America in
1741.*

§ 67.

MEAN while a storm had been gathering, which threatened total destruction to the congregation at Herrnhut. The disturbances about the Bohemian emigration were not yet allayed. People were still coming out of Bohemia, and were received without any noise by one or another of the states. The count was again accused with respect to the emigration of some people out of Moravia and Silesia, which had, however, almost totally ceased since 1732. Add to this, that a certain nobleman, much respected among the states of the country, on account of some irregularities which had occurred on his estates, (for such, the private meetings and visits to Herrnhut were stiled) lodged a complaint against the count and the congregation at Herrn-

Herrnhut*; nor did he rest till a mandate was issued, dated March the 20th 1736, for a local commission to be sent to Herrnhut. And the very same day the *Consilium abeundi* (order to quit the country) was dated, which was delivered to the count at *Cassel* on the 21st of April, on his return from Holland. Which way he directed his course afterwards, and what good ensued from this exile, will appear hereafter. Consequently, he could not personally appear at this commission, how much soever he, at that time, desired a strict examination. But he sent his lady with so much the greater expedition to Herrnhut, that she might give the honourable commissioners a suitable reception. This commission arrived at Herrnhut on the 9th of May, and continued to the 18th of the same month. It consisted of the deputy-lieutenant of Upper Lusatia, *De Loeben*, the lord of the bedchamber, *De Holzendorf*, the counsellor of appeals and of the consistory, Dr. *Heidenreich*, and the superintendent of Dresden, the Rev. Dr. *Loescher*. The congregation made no alteration in their usual regulations and meetings, that every thing might be seen and heard, as it really was. The elders, the helpers, and all the Brethren who were called before the commissioners, spoke with freedom and boldness, and without the least reserve and dissimulation, committing all the consequences to their Lord and Saviour. They all avowed the doctrine of the unaltered confession of Augsburg; nor did any debate on that head arise, except with some of the literati, who were either to embrace at the same time the rest of the symbolic books, or to be dismissed from their employments in the schools. The honourable commissioners were content, upon the whole, with the

* This nobleman, with whom then the utmost pains which the count took to set him to rights were all in vain, was afterwards, by a particular leading of God, convinced of his error. He not only visited the congregation at Herrnhut himself, which proved a blessing to his own heart; but, moreover, gave his subjects, whom he had severely persecuted before, an opportunity "of making the best use of their living near real evangelical Christians."

doctrine,

doctrine, and with what had been delivered at the meetings, which they every day attended. Only in the constitution they wished to have one or another thing altered. But in this the Brethren would not acquiesce: for, being in a state of confession, it might have been misconstrued in them as shunning the cross; and therefore they offered rather to emigrate. Thus they were left unmolested as to these particulars also.

I have been informed by Brethren who were present, and find it also on record in the accounts of that time, that all the commissioners were greatly surprised and moved at every thing they saw and heard; and that they testified so much the greater dissatisfaction at several regulations, quite different from those of Herrnhut, which the parish-minister had introduced amongst his parishioners at Bertholdsdorf, and which, as it can hardly be supposed otherwise, had, for fear of censure, been laid aside a little while before the arrival of the commission. They declared that people who, for the sake of the gospel, had forsaken all their substance, being the descendents of a church which, long before the Reformation, had avowed the Protestant doctrine, and had stood up for their church-privileges and special constitution, under tortures and in prisons, ought in justice, in all the Protestant countries, to be left to their own liberty of living according to the usages derived to them from their forefathers; which, if mimicked in other places, ought to be styled disorder. Dr. Loescher especially is said to have greatly extolled the good order of the congregation at Herrnhut, to have acknowledged the count's innocence, and exhorted the Brethren with tears to persevere upon the good foundation of that doctrine they had expressed, in connexion with the Lutheran religion, notwithstanding all the indisputable defects of it, and to shine as a light among their neighbours. The very same testimony he is said to have publicly repeated at *Dresden*, as an encouragement to his own congregation.

§ 68.

BEFORE I proceed in the narrative of the journies and transactions of the count and other Brethren; I will, for the sake of the connexion, immediately subjoin the consequences of this memorable commission.

After a third commission in February 1737, on account of the Bohemian emigration *, at which the Brethren's innocence again appeared, the resolution of government, on the 7th of August 1737, was to this effect: "That the congregation at *Herrnhut* shall, as long as they continue in the doctrine of the unaltered confession of *Augsburg*, be left undisturbed in their regulations and discipline, as hitherto." In consequence of this declaration, the Moravian Brethren, after a previous examination of all the charges alledged against them, were acknowledged adherents to the Augustan confession; and their constitution was confirmed.

About the same time, the count, upon the representation of his father-in-law, *De Nazmer*, field-marshal general to his Prussian majesty, was permitted to return to Saxony. However, they soon presented him with a deed, which he was to sign, and by which he should obligate himself to remedy many disorderly things laid to his charge. This he could not do without a tacit acknowledgment of his having been guilty of these disorders, with respect to which he found himself perfectly innocent. He, therefore, solicited for an examination of these charges, promising, in case they should be found true, to execute the deed prescribed to him. But as his petition was not granted him, he went for the third time into a voluntary exile. This was construed as a

* This examination, which was committed to the deputy-lieutenant *De Loeben*, and the president *De Gersdorf*, concerned all the states of Upper Lusatia, who had received Bohemians; and was taken in hand, after the Royal rescript had been properly notified at *Bertholdsdorf* and *Herrnhut* by Mr. *Marche*; the occasion and result of which we shall see hereafter.

perverse obstinacy in him ; and, on this account, the return into Saxony was, on the 19th of March 1738, forbidden him for ever. But yet, this exile terminated at the end of ten years. All this time he ever retained not only an unchangeable affection and veneration for the royal and electoral house of Saxony ; but also, amidst all appearance of impossibility, the firm hope of seeing, within the space of ten years, the true design of his labour for the good of the Protestant church, acknowledged, and executed through the same illustrious house, and the very departments that had separated him from his beloved Herrnhut. This hope, which he frequently expressed, hardly any one could comprehend, till, to every one's astonishment, it came to pass ; as we shall see in its place.

§ 69.

IN the mean time, immediately upon the sight of this *consilium abeundi*, the count had repaired to *Ebersdorf* in *Vogtland* to his brother-in-law, count Henry the XXIX Reufs. He had appointed some of his fellow-labourers to meet him here. With them he held a conference upon the exigences of the colonies and missions, such especially as had lately been proposed in Holland. From hence he also wrote to several eminent adversaries, both in ecclesiastical and civil stations, earnestly beseeching them to submit the accusations against him, which they had hitherto entertained and propagated, to an examination by a conference, and to hear him in his own behalf. The same request he has often repeated since, but never could obtain it. Whenever a suitable opportunity for that end presented itself, it has been studiously avoided ; and his enemies continued to speak and write against him.

From *Ebersdorf* he went to *Wetteravia*, where the seed which the late Dr. Spener, and many faithful witnesses, had sown with tears, had, through a diversity of parties, received

ceived damage in its growth. In *Francfort on the Mayne*, not knowing where to find a resting-place for his feet, he received from Mr. *Neumann*, a steward of the count of *Meerholz*, a very friendly invitation to come to him to *Marienberg*. He accepted of it; and here several offers of places were made him for a residence: but he chose a very old, ruinous castle, on a hill, called *Ronneburg*, for his present habitation; because there, and in the environs of it, many poor and ignorant people lived, to whom he hoped to prove a blessing. On June the 14th, 1736, he arrived here, and, on the 17th, he preached on the gospel of that Sunday, *Of the lost sheep*. It was attended by Christians of various sects and persuasions, and even by Jews. He set up schools for the children; and, to prevent their going about begging, (which was their common custom) he distributed bread and money for clothing among them. Yet even these good institutions soon met with opposition; and endeavours were used to hinder the public meetings, in a country where, otherwise, every one may believe and speak what he pleases. The count found it expedient to explain himself on this head to the count of *Xsenburg Waechtersbach*, sovereign of the territory; intimating, that the pure motive of his repairing to *Ronneburg* had been, to have an opportunity of preaching the gospel to the poor, to the salvation of their souls.

Hither his lady followed him on the 13th of July, with their children, having staid at *Herrnhut* till the conclusion of the commission, and made due provision for the care and management of the institutions there. It was here also that those Brethren met, who were intended for missions and colonies. With them he began, in great poverty, that blessed household, which afterwards, for many years, was known by the name of, *The Pilgrim-Congregation*, in which so many labourers amongst Christians and Heathens were prepared, sent out into all the world, and, on their return, refreshed both in body and soul.

§ 70.

JULY the 27th 1736 the count set out upon his journey to *Livonia*, so long and often wished-for, by way of *Jena*, *Halle*, and *Berlin*, where he conferred with some Brethren from Herrnhut concerning the colony in *Danish Holstein*, which he neither would advise, nor hinder. As early as the years 1729 and 1730, at the instance of a certain clergyman, who had heard many good reports concerning Herrnhut, and wished to become more intimately acquainted with the Brethren, *Christian David* and *David Nitschmann* had made a visit in *Livonia*; and, since that time, many persons of rank, both of the clergy and laity, had solicited the count for a visit. He arrived on the 8th of September at *Riga*, where he visited the superintendent general *Fischer*, and the general *De Campenhausen*, and became acquainted with several Swedish officers, who, during their captivity in *Siberia*, had instituted and supported that celebrated and laudable school. In *Wolmarshof* he visited lady *De Hallart*, relict of general Hallart, a pious lady from Saxony, whom God, among others, made use of for the introduction, not only of the writings, but also of ministers from *Halle*, into *Livonia* and *Russia*. In *Reval* he had, among others, an interview with the pastor primarius *Mikwitz*, and the Rev. Messrs. *Vierorth* and *Gutslaff*, and preached in the church of St. Olaus, and in the cathedral. Many of the states of the country would have gladly kept him with them, and made various well-meant proposals to him. On his return, he could not refuse preaching at *Riga* for the superintendent general at St. James's church, which he did afterwards twice more. On this journey he had an opportunity of conversing with some of the most considerable clergymen in *Livonia*, to whom he gave his advice how to labour with success among the *Lettonian* and *Estonian* nations. He also opened a subscription for printing Bibles at a low

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price,

price, for the benefit of the poor country-people; as it appears from the *Preface to the Lettonian Bible*. Many persons of rank solicited him for private tutors and faithful domestics. Ministers begged of him assistants in their churches and schools. Lady Hallart, in particular, requested of him an house-chaplain, and catechists for the use of an institution at Wolmarshof intended to prepare school-masters. The count promised to gratify all their wishes, as far as lay in his power; in consequence of which, his first care was, to dispatch thither, in 1737, five Brethren. Among these was *Magnus Frederic Buntebart*, a student of divinity, of the institution of Jena, which was then still flourishing; (§ 24.) who, upon a vocation to the office of catechist from lady Hallart, having, at his examination before the superintendent general Fischer, met with extraordinary approbation, was appointed assistant to the Rev. Mr. *Barlach* at Wolmarshof, with a view to prepare, in the school lately set on foot, grown Lettonian peasants for school-masters, and young people for the holy communion. To say nothing of the blessing which attended the rest of the Brethren sent to Livonia; an awakening arose among the peasants, both in and out of this school, which soon amounted to thousands. And as this, on account of some disorders, which, in the beginning, had crept in, and could not be approved of, no more than they could immediately be put a stop to in the first zeal, made a great stir, giving occasion to various reports, and hard oppressions; the school-institution was examined into by an Imperial general church-visitation, when not only the doctrine and method were approved, but even other lords of manors and ministers were advised to send to this praise-worthy institution young people to be prepared for parish-clerks and school-masters. Many, even such as at first had endeavoured to hinder it, were induced to interest themselves in this institution; by which means the awakening spread farther and farther.

§ 71.

THE count, upon his return through Berlin, was invited to *Wusterhausen* by the king, *Frederic William*, to whom various unfavourable notions about the count had been insinuated. After several long and ample conversations, during the three days he was obliged to spend there, the king, having received very different conceptions of him, declared, in some rather harsh expressions, in presence of the whole court, that he regarded the accusations, that the count occasioned confusions in church and state, as calumnies; and that his view, as a count, of propagating the kingdom of God, how extraordinary soever, was so far from deserving censure, that it should rather be encouraged and supported*. But that this might be done in the usual order, and without show, he advised him to receive a regular ordination. For the sake of the missions in the English dominions, it was most expedient that he should receive an *episcopal* ordination; and, on account of the Moravian Brethren, the ordination of the church of the Brethren was required; which no one could confer upon him but the eldest antistes of the Unity at that time, Dr. *Daniel Ernest Jablonsky*, who was at the same time dean of the king's chapel at the court of Berlin; and *David Nitschmann*. The king, therefore, ordered the dean of his chapel to confer upon this head with the count, whom he characterises "an honest and sensible man, who hath no other views, but the propagation of true and solid Christianity, and the sound doctrine of the word of God." Upon the report *Jablonsky* made of the result of their conference, the count requested of the king, as a condition without which he could not receive ordination, that the

* This the king endeavoured to put in practice, sending, by special favour, an order to count *Degenfeld*, his minister of the circle of the Upper Rhine, to support the settlements of the Brethren in those parts. (See *Acta Fratrum*, App. lxi. p. 45. note, where it is to be read *Upper Rhine*, instead of *Nether Rhine*.)

Lutheran deans at Berlin might first examine into his orthodoxy and sentiments, since he would not be invested with this function otherwise than as a Lutheran divine. Upon this, the king ordered the Lutheran deans *Reinbeck* and *Rollff* to take this examination upon them. For this examination, the aim of which was to insure to the congregation security and tranquillity, as far as the form of the cross would admit; to further the preaching of the gospel, and to guard sincere souls against incurring guilt by aggrieving the Brethren; he delivered the requisite documents to the deans, intimating to them where they might find the accusations which were propagated in the dark, without any detriment to their authors and abettors. For this purpose he gave them half a year's time, and prosecuted his journey to his family in *Wetteravia*.

§ 72.

NOT far from *Ronneburg*, he was informed that his lady and her family, together with the Brethren she had with her, had been driven thence by the malevolence of the steward, who would not allow of the preaching of the gospel, and the charity-school, and had repaired to *Francfort*. Here he found the Brethren in a blessed intercourse with some awakened souls, even such as had suffered themselves to be drawn into separatism; some of whom were, through their remonstrances, reconciled to the church. These wished to attend his family-devotions. He allowed it to some of them; and was afterwards obliged, in order to prevent suspicions among the people, to admit every one. To obviate all show, and prevent commotions among the magistrates and the clergy on that account, he gave them an information of it in writing, and replied to some queries which had been put to the awakened souls respecting his person and transactions. After his return from his tour through Holland and England in the beginning of the year 1737, he published here, *The*
sixth

sixth Declaration of his Mind, and of the Ground of his Adherence to the Lutheran Church, which is well worth reading.

Before his journey to England, he held, with the consent of the count of *Meerholz*, in *Marienborn*, the palace of the counts of *Ysenburg*, which he afterwards rented for his family, from the 10th to the 12th of December 1736, the first synod of the renewed church of the Brethren. This synod consisted of such labourers from *Herrnhut* and other places, as happened to be then with him. The most important affairs relative to the church of the Brethren, and the propagation of the kingdom of God through the service of the Brethren, especially among the Heathen, were, at this synod, discussed, and the necessary resolutions taken.

§ 73.

UPON his journey to *England*, the count made visits in *Holland* to many great personages, especially at the *Hague*. But he fell into a dispute with an eminent divine, upon the subject of unconditional election and reprobation, which has been attended with painful consequences. On the 20th of January 1737 he arrived at *London*. His view was properly to confer with *Dr. John Potter* (a man admirably versed in ecclesiastical history, and in the canon-law; who, from being bishop of *Oxford*, had just then been promoted to the archiepiscopal see of *Canterbury*) concerning the affair of the *Moravian church*, and the ordination, which he was now going to receive. He had, several years before, written to him on this subject; but the letter having, some way or other, miscarried, was now first answered in a brotherly manner. On this occasion the count became acquainted with general *Oglethorpe*, and the *Trustees of Georgia*, with whom he entered into a conference relative to the colony of the Brethren there. Some of these trustees were *Associates of the late Dr. Bray*, who had, by his last will and testament, made provision for

the conversion of the Negroes in *South Carolina*. These gentlemen solicited the count for some missionaries to be sent thither. Upon his objecting that the church of England would not acknowledge the Brethren as duly ordained, they sent deputies to consult the archbishop on this head; and obtained the following answer: "That the Moravian Brethren were an apostolical and episcopal church, not sustaining any doctrines repugnant to the XXXIX Articles of the church of England*; that they, therefore, could not with propriety, nor ought to, be hindered from preaching the gospel to the Heathen†."

Besides these, the count made acquaintance with several lords, and with sundry dignitaries of the church of England. He also became acquainted with a learned Quaker, *Josias Martin*, to please whom, he drew up a concise history of the Brethren in French; as he also afterwards, during his second voyage to America, took more pains to be of service to that people.

Some well disposed Germans attended, amongst others, his family-devotions. To these, the Brethren that were with him proved a blessing. At his departure they solicited him to make some kind of regulations among them for

* The question was not, Whether the Brethren believe what the church of England teaches? but, Whether their tenets are repugnant to the *Thirty-nine Articles*, as the confession of the church of England, which, as to the essential part, is not different from the *Confession of Augsburg*? The Rev. Mr. *Lintrup*, a Danish divine, has shown the harmony of both these confessions, alledging for proof the words of Dr. *Bull*, late bishop of *St. David's*; "Confessionem Augustanam, utpote omnium reformatarum nobilissimam, ita secuti sunt ecclesiæ nostræ proceres, ut, qui illam ignoret, articulorum nostrorum mentem ac sententiam vix rectè percepturus sit." The purport of which is, That the *Thirty-nine Articles* of the church of England must be understood and explained according to the sense of the confession of *Augsburg*.

† See *Acta Fratrum*, &c. *App. x.* p. 11.

their farther edification. He complied with their request. On his way to Germany, through Holland, where he dispatched the deputy from the mission, in Greenland, *Christian Stach*, for his return thither, a similar society formed itself at *Amsterdam*, under the direction of some pious ministers.

§ 74.

AFTER a short stay at *Francfort on the Mayne*, (§ 72.) the count went with his family to *Berlin*, where he presented himself for the conference and examination of his orthodoxy, which he himself had requested, and the king had directed the Lutheran deans to take in hand. (§ 71.) Their Report * to the king was to this effect: “ That they found no other
“ doctrine held by him, but what is taught in the evangelic †
“ church.” Scruples were, indeed, suggested to the king, whether this ordination, and the Moravian church-constitution, hereby acknowledged in Germany, might not have the appearance of a *fourth Religion in the Roman Empire?* The king required the sentiments of the dean of his chapel on this head: by which the affair was delayed for some time. But *Jablonsky* having found no sufficient ground for scrupulosity on this account, and having submitted it to the examination of the civil courts, a rescript was sent him to put it into execution. Thus, on the 20th of May 1737, the count, (whom I shall henceforth stile, *The Ordinary of the Brethren*, although it was not till some time after that he was known to the public under this title) in the quality of a Lutheran divine ‡, who had already been several times, and now but very

* See the Answer of the late king of *Prussia* to the Report of the committee appointed to confer with count *Zinzendorf*, &c. *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia. Append. xi. p. 11.*

† So the *Lutheran* church is called at the *German* courts. (The Editor.)

‡ The question, “ Whether the count, having received the “ episcopal ordination, which none but the eldest antiles of “ the Unity could impart to him, did thereby go over to the

very lately, examined and approved, as such; received, by the hands of the eldest antistes of the Polish branch, *Daniel Ernest Jablonsky*, and of the first bishop of the renewed Moravian branch, *David Nitschmann*, (§ 63) and with the concurrence and blessing of the senior *Sitkovius* of Lissa, the *episcopal Ordination*, the instrument of which was executed on the 24th of June*. The archbishop of *Canterbury*, who styles the episcopacy of the Brethren, *Sanctam, vereque illustrem Cathedram* (sacred and justly celebrated), cordially congratulated him upon this event†; promising his love, affection, and his utmost assistance, to this church of confessors, “having hitherto (he writes) invariably maintained both the
 “pure and primitive faith, and the discipline of the first
 “church; being neither intimidated by dangers, nor seduced by the manifold temptations of Satan.”

§ 75.

It was during the ordinary's stay at *Berlin*, that field-marshal general *De Nazmer*, his father-in-law, had obtained of the king of Poland permission for him to return to *Herrnhut*. He arrived there June the 30th 1737. Soon after followed his majesty's royal decree of confirmation respecting

“Reformed religion, since this same antistes was, at that very
 “time, invested with an office in the Reformed church?” he himself has answered in a letter to a minister in Sweden. See the *Buedingen-Collection*, II. p. 3.

However, by this step also he raised again many adversaries against himself; and many who had before praised his views and abetted them, now repented of what they had done. But *Jablonsky* persevered in his friendship till his end in 1741.

As to the count's sentiments concerning the episcopal ordination of the Brethren, they may be read in his *Natural Reflections*, p. 172. n. 1. p. 267. *Apolog. Declaration*, *Quest.* 166. *Final Apology*, p. 210. *Quest.* 526.

* This *Instrument* may be found at large in the *Acta Fratrum*, App. xvi. p. 3, & seq.

† The whole of this congratulatory letter is to be seen in the *Editor's Preface* to this History.

Herrnhut,

Herrnhut, dated August the 7th, 1737, which has been mentioned above. (§ 68.) The Rev. Mr. *Rothe*, minister of the parish of *Bertholdsdorf*, to the great grief of the ordinary, accepted a vocation to *Hermisdorf*, near *Goerliz*, from which place he, in 1739, removed to *Tonnendorf*, on the borders of Silesia. *Caspar Leonhard Mukke* of *Nochten* was nominated in his room for *Bertholdsdorf*, to whom the congregation at Herrnhut was also recommended. It being required of the ordinary to sign a declaration (§ 68.) which he could not in conscience comply with, he, on the 4th of December 1737, went again into exile, having delivered his farewell-discourse to the congregation on these lines of an hymn :

“ Let thy true follow’rs, though oppress’d,
 “ Beneath oppression, conqu’rors be !”

On the 13th of April 1738, a rescript was sent to Herrnhut, in which the count was forbidden ever to return into the country. He again repaired to *Wetteravia*; from whence, pursuant to the sollicitation of his friends at *London*, he dispatched some Brethren to *England*, *Georgia*, and *Carolina*; as we shall see hereafter. Before the end of the same year, he went to *Berlin*, by way of *Jena*, where his eldest son *Christian Renatus* had been resident since January 1737.

§ 76.

ABOUT the end of the year 1737, his lady, with her children, followed him hither, from Herrnhut; and his son with his tutors, from Jena; as also some labourers from Herrnhut and other places. He hired an house, and, having regulated his family, held daily meetings, as usual in a congregation. Many people were desirous of attending them; but, on account of the shew he apprehended it might occasion, he was scrupulous to permit it. But yet, some clergymen requesting of him to hold public meetings, he desired to know the king’s pleasure on that head, who wished him the blessing of God to his undertaking.

undertaking. He also wrote to the principal divines, requesting that, if they entertained any scruples concerning him, they would freely disclose them to him. Having conferred with dean *Reinbeck* and the president of the consistory *De Reichenbach*, with respect to the intended public meetings, he allowed some few persons, not indeed to come to his usual family-devotions, but, to attend the discourses to be held on purpose, in his own apartment; but this, and at length the saloon itself, proved too small. He divided the men and women, preaching to each of the sexes twice a week; and yet the numbers were so great, that, for want of room, no benches, or even a chair, could be set in the place. Citizens and soldiers, clergy and courtiers stood promiscuously together; but for some ministers of state, and generals, and for weakly people, convenience was made for sitting in an adjoining apartment. Thus, from the first of January, to the 27th of April 1738, he delivered *Sixty Discourses* upon the exposition of the second article in Luther's catechism, the Lord's prayer, and some texts of scripture. These he got printed, with a dedication to the queen, in order to refute those false copies of them, which had been either wholly invented, or taken down inaccurately. They have also been translated into divers other languages, and have been read with great blessing*.

Attempts were indeed made to prejudice the king against him; and the writings of some adversaries were put into his hands. But the king behaved, as every impartial judge ought to do. He resolved to give the accused party an hearing, before he would pass sentence. For this purpose, having marked the passages he hesitated about, he sent the book to the ordinary, requesting an answer to them, which he also received. The king assured him he was convinced of the integrity of

* *Sixteen* of these Discourses have been translated, and published in England. (The Editor.)

his views, and took a gracious leave of him at Potsdam, at his departure, on the 27th of April.

The ordinary did not settle a congregation at *Berlin*, nor did he in any other place where he preached. But he was prevailed upon by some of the awakened, amongst whom were also clergymen, to give them, the day before his departure, good advice how, under the direction of a respectable minister, they might begin and continue their fellowship. On the 29th of April he set out by way of *Cotbus*, where he had appointed some labourers from *Herrnhut* to meet him for a conference, on his return to *Wetteravia*.

§ 77.

DURING his residence at *Berlin* at this time, he renewed also his acquaintance with the *Bohemians* of *Gerlachsheim* and their minister *Augustin Schulz*, mentioned above. (§ 43, 44, 45.) But, on account of their disputes with the *Bohemians* of *Gross Hennersdorf*, he did not find it proper to enter into a nearer connexion with them. However, as we shall find them mentioned oftener in the sequel, we must see how they came from Saxony to *Berlin*, and in what situation they were at this time.

The emigration out of *Bohemia* to *Gerlachsheim* had gone on in stillness, and without any farther enquiry about it, until, in autumn 1736, seventy-two persons arrived there at once from the village *Czerweny*, in the territory of *Landscron*. The prince of *Lichtenstein*, to whom this lordship belonged, having lodged a complaint against it at the court of *Dresden*, received for answer, that he might seek and oblige such of his subjects to return, wherever he should meet with them, as had emigrated since the edict issued from that court, forbidding the reception of emigrants; who, thus, were excluded from the benefit of being protected. They were enquired after at *Herrnhut*, but none found there. (§ 68.) Thus the friends of the student *Schulz* gained time,

time, and advised him to get these people out of the way, and take better care of himself. Accordingly, he set their danger before them, and advised them to remove to a greater distance. Their reply was, "*Whither thou goest, we will go; and where thou lodgest, we will lodge.*" (Ruth i. 16.) But being himself apprehensive of some displeasure, and that, if these people were discovered, still more of their countrymen would be carried back, and others deterred from emigrating for the future; he retired in stillness to *Cotbus*, and those who had emigrated last, followed him. The lord of the manor of Gerlachshiem, considering it as intended to entice away his subjects, threatened to oblige the old settlers, who had no reason to go away, to make the supposed loss good to him. These poor people being incapable of raising the sum required, were deprived of all their substance, and forced, in the same wretched condition as they had left Bohemia, to follow after their teacher, in February 1737, through a deep snow, four hundred in number. At *Cotbus* they found two hundred Bohemians before them, who, since the emigration in 1732, had from time to time repaired to *Gross Hennerdorf*, but could not be received by the lady of the manor, since the electoral inhibition, and, after half a year's instruction under their faithful and blessed minister *Wanek*, were obliged to go farther. These intended to settle near *Cotbus*, inviting Mr. *Wanek* to be their minister. But he dying in November 1736, they now received the student *Schulz* as their minister. Upon an order from the king, they went to *Berlin*, where lands were assigned them. Consequently three Bohemian colonies met at Berlin :

1. Those who in 1732 went thither from *Gross Hennerdorf*, about five hundred persons.
2. Those who, after that time, went through *Hennerdorf* to *Cotbus*, two hundred in number.
3. Those who went thither from *Gerlachshiem* by way of *Cotbus*, between four and five hundred persons.

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The first colony had settled as citizens in William's Street at Berlin. For the second colony, two farms were assigned in the village *Rueksdorf*, near Berlin, on the road to Cotbus; which were to be divided among eighteen families. But as these farms were not sufficient for them, Schulz advised his Bohemians from Gerlachshheim, whom he wished to keep together, and to see employed in husbandry, to settle there. Thus, part of the third colony not only built these eighteen farm-houses, but also many other smaller houses, the inhabitants of which earn their bread by a cotton-manufacture, which the Bohemians properly first began, and set a going. The student *Schulz* was appointed their minister. He, after declining it for a long time, consented to be ordained, at the consecration of the Bohemian church in 1737. (§ 41.) The great concourse both of Germans and Bohemians, (for at the Bohemian church a German sermon was likewise preached in the morning, and Schulz continued the meetings at his own house) and the endeavours of his Bohemians to restore their regulations, which they had enjoyed at Gerlachshheim, and which had been interrupted by their travels; stirred up envy, chagrin, and various calumnies; which, together with the separation already subsisting among the Bohemians of the first colony, (as will be related hereafter) rendered the union of his congregation with them impossible. Schulz, therefore, withdrew from Berlin to the colony at Rueksdorf; whither those of his congregation who lived at Berlin, came to attend divine service; since they in the church in the city heard nothing which could contribute to their edification, but things which bred contention. They had, besides, their private meetings in an house in William's Street, instructing their children, who were ill treated by the rest, at home by themselves.

In the mean time, *Liberda*, coming to Berlin, (§ 41.) was appointed minister of the Bohemians at the Bethlehem-church. He was very desirous of establishing an union.

But

But not being agreed with *Schulz* in the doctrine ; the former preaching to the Bohemians a reward for the persecution and self-denial they had undergone, by temporal reputation and riches ; but the latter, the imitation of the crucified Jesus by reproach and poverty ; they soon fell at variance again, and the more, as there was no want of secret defamations of, and snares laid for, *Schulz* and his congregation.

Under these circumstances, the ordinary could not comply with *Schulz*'s desire that he would take care of the Bohemians ; and could do no more than give them his best advice and cordial wishes, till the matter should be more cleared up.

§ 78.

THE ordinary being returned to *Wetteravia*, and having moved into a part of the palace of the count of *Ysenburg Meerholz*, called *Marienborn*, was intent upon establishing, in the neighbourhood of it, a colony for some Moravian Brethren. But the count of *Ysenburg Buedingen* having offered the Brethren a piece of land for a settlement near the *Haag-church* ; this proved more eligible to them. The ordinary, then absent, consented to it, though in terms implying some diffidence. This colony was begun in the year 1738, under the name of *Herrnhaag*.

About this very time, many persons out of *Reformed* countries being desirous to join the congregation of the Brethren, and some, on account of their connexion with them, being, soon after, banished their country ; *Herrnhaag* was intended, at the same time, to be such an asylum for them, as *Herrnhut* had proved for the *Moravian Brethren* and for *Lutherans*. For these purposes, the Brethren rather chose separate places, than settlements in, or near, cities ; hoping that, by this means, they and their children might remain in peace, being out of the way of the old inhabitants, and neither making any unnecessary show with the usages of
their

their church, nor giving any occasion for others to mimic them. The congregation at *Herrnhaag* was settled on the 6th of July 1740, being the anniversary of *John Huf's* martyrdom: and in a few years it exceeded the congregation at *Herrnhut* in the number of inhabitants. For as many controversial writings against the Brethren were now every where circulated in the world; people out of various countries were induced to obtain some knowledge of these decried Brethren, and of their ordinary in particular; to see whether the reports of them were true. Many, being convinced of the contrary, asked leave to stay. Far more agreeable would it have been to the ordinary, had they remained in their former places, shining as a light in darkness; but he could not always prevent it: and the less, as his fellow-labourers entertained sentiments in this respect somewhat different from his own, not finding it in their hearts to send away people, who were not tolerated in their own places. Yet the new-comers were closely examined from time to time, and many, often the greatest part of them, were, by friendly representations, induced to return either to their own places, or to such, in which they might enjoy liberty of conscience and the fellowship of the Brethren.

§ 79.

IN the mean while, more missions had been undertaken, which I am now to mention. During the residence of the ordinary at *Amsterdam*, in the beginning of the year 1736, (§ 65.) the missions to *Guinea* and the *Cape of Good Hope* in Africa, to *Ceylon* in the East-Indies, and to *Berbice* in South America, had been partly proposed by friends of the Brethren, in civil and ecclesiastical offices, and partly approved; and treaties on these heads entered upon with the directors of the East and West India companies.

For the first, viz. to *Guinea*, *Christian Protten*, a mulatto from *Guinea*, who, after his baptism, had studied divinity

at Copenhagen, and in 1735, having become acquainted with the count, was come to Herrnhut, had offered himself. In 1736 he set out for that purpose, in company of *Henry Hukuff*, from Herrnhut for Holland, and sailed from thence in March 1737 for Guinea. They arrived there on the 11th of May. The latter soon after departed this life: but the former staid some years longer there, and returned in 1741. He has since been there twice again, by his own choice; and departed this life in 1769. Within these few years, preparations have again been made for a mission thither; as will be seen in its place.

George Schmid, who, together with *Melchior Nitschmann*, in 1728, on a journey through Bohemia, was imprisoned, and in 1734 enlarged by the interposition of the ordinary; set out from Holland, in 1737, for the *Cape of Good Hope*; having in 1736 arrived from Herrnhut at Amsterdam for that purpose, where he was obliged to wait a whole year. Being landed at the Cape the 9th of July, he soon went several miles farther into the country among the *Hottentots*; where, having erected a hut for himself near *Sergeant's River*, he cleared a spot of land for a plantation. The *Hottentots* gained such a confidence to him, as to send their children to school on his plantation. Being incapable of learning the language of the *Hottentots*, he taught them to read and sing in Low Dutch; instructing both them and their parents in the Christian religion, and keeping them closely to a regular employment. But no sooner had he begun to baptise some of them, (for he actually baptised seven grown persons) but he met with so many impediments and difficulties, that he was obliged to return to Europe in 1744, in hopes of obtaining in Holland the liberty to go again thither, and continue his instruction of the *Hottentots*. But all the endeavours, which both he and other Brethren used, to revisit the forsaken *Hottentots*, who, by authentic accounts, kept still several years together, and longed for their teacher, have hitherto proved ineffectual.

§ 80.

FOR *Ceylon*, even after the publication of the *Pastoral Letter of Amsterdam* (of which more will be mentioned hereafter) the Brethren *David Nitschmann*, junior, and *Frederic Eller*, a physician, obtained, in 1738, a passport and a free passage. After a toilsome voyage, during which eighty persons, and among them the doctor of the ship, died, which obliged Eller to supply his place; when both these Brethren, by their conversation and testimony, proved a blessing to many; they arrived at the *Cape* in July 1739. Here they found *Schmid* still labouring with blessing among the Hottentots; but the *Pastoral Letter* brought, even then, many sufferings upon them. In the beginning of the year 1740 they arrived at *Colombo*, where they met with a kind reception from governor *Imhoff*, who, notwithstanding many objections suggested by the *Pastoral Letter*, which protracted the progress of their journey above a quarter of a year, forwarded them to the *Cingalese*. (Thus the natives of the island of *Ceylon* are called.) These had been cautioned against them, as Atheists. But, on speaking with the Brethren, they got a confidence to, and were fond of hearing, them. However, when some awakened persons in *Colombo*, who were acquainted with the Brethren, began to hold meetings, the new governor was prevailed upon to order the Brethren, still in the same year, to quit the country. A blessing was nevertheless left behind them, which has been since sought for again.

To *Rio de Berbice* near Surinam in South America, the Brethren *John Guettner*, and *Lewis Christopher Dekne* were expedited in 1738. They were followed in 1740 by *Beutel* and his wife. Having dwelt and worked for a while on the company's plantation, they, in the same year, took a lot of land upon the borders of the colony, where they cultivated a plantation, which they called *Pilgerhut*; and, having

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acquired

acquired the language of the *Pocks*, or rather *Arawaks*, endeavoured to bring them to the knowledge of their Creator. But it was not till ten years after, that the mission, though at the same time under great pressures, began to flourish : as we shall see in the sequel of this History.

§ 81.

THE mission among the Negroes in *South Carolina*, which took place in the year 1738, proved the occasion of a great awakening in *England*. I will relate this matter from the very beginning. When the second colony of Brethren went to *Georgia* in 1735, three zealous English clergymen were on board the same ship, the Rev. Mess. *John* and *Charles Wesley*, and *Benjamin Ingham*. These having, by this occasion, gained a peculiar affection for the Brethren, sent so many favourable reports of them to England, that it raised a desire in many pious persons to get a more intimate knowledge of, and acquaintance with, them. (§ 61.) *John Wesley* became the minister at *Savannah*; his brother *Charles* attended general *Oglethorpe* in quality of secretary; and *Ingham*, in conjunction with the Bohemian Brother *Rosa* and his wife, set up a school for the Indians. This school was called *Irene*, and lay not far from an Indian village. In the beginning of the year 1737, when the ordinary resided at London (§ 73.) with a view to confer with the English bishops concerning the Moravian episcopacy; he was solicited by the associates of the late Dr. *Bray* to furnish them with some Brethren to be employed in the conversion of the Negroes in *South Carolina*. He, at the same time, became acquainted with *Charles Wesley*, who was returned with general *Oglethorpe* from *Georgia*, and with some other awakened Germans, who requested of him a Brother, to lead them on in the truth they professed. For the mission to *South Carolina* *Peter Boehler* was called from the university of *Jena*; and was likewise ordained minister of the colony of

of the Brethren in Georgia. *George Schulius*, a Moravian, was appointed his assistant among the Negroes. They arrived at *London* the 18th of February 1738, and delivered their letters to the correspondent of the ordinary. At the same time *John Wesley*, lately returned from Georgia, brought letters from the Brethren there. He, rejoicing to find Moravian Brethren here, introduced them to his friends. *Wenceslaus Neisser*, who had conducted the Brethren thus far, renewed the acquaintance he had made with some Germans during his stay here with the ordinary the year before. Peter Boehler was desired by John and Charles Wesley to go with them to *Oxford*; where he, at their instance, held meetings for the edification of awakened people, both learned and unlearned. This he did in Latin, which, for the sake of the latter, was interpreted by the Rev. *John Gambold*, a clergyman of the church of England, who proved afterwards a blessed instrument in the church of the Brethren. At their return to *London*, the Brethren were much sought for by many pious persons, who took them into their vestries*, in order to converse with them concerning the way of salvation. This caused a great emotion. *John Wesley* himself, an eloquent man, and mighty in the scriptures, like *Apollos*, (*Acts xviii.*) having, by means of the word of reconciliation, and the living evidences of it he found in some Germans of the society of the Brethren, settled here in 1737, who had in this word of atonement found their righteousness and sanctification, been convinced of the insufficiency of his own endeavours, and of the true evangelical foundation and the only way of salvation; began at this time to preach Jesus Christ and him crucified. As he, and other awakened Englishmen, perceived an especial

* In these church-vestries many sincere people were at that time used to meet under the protection of the bishop of London, with an intent, besides their attendance on the public worship, to be edified in private, and to spend the Lord's day purely in edifying conversation.

blessing in the society established among the Germans ; they requested and urged to have such a society or fellowship settled among them also ; which was done by *Boehler* on the 12th of May 1738, a little while before the departure of the Brethren for Georgia.

Soon after this, the Moravian Brother *John Toeltschig* returned from *Georgia*. The Rev. Messrs. *Benjamin Ingham* and *John Wesley* went with him to Germany. Wesley published his *Journal*, in which he gave an ample relation of his first acquaintance with the Brethren, and more particularly of his conversations with Peter Boehler, and in what state he found the congregations at *Heerendyk*, *Herrnhut*, and *Marienborn*. After his return he preached in and about *London*, as *Ingham* did in *Yorkshire*, to very great numbers of people. This excited many to envy, who at length carried matters so far, that they were denied the pulpits. From that time they preached in large saloons, and in chapels, erected for them by their friends ; and when these became too small for the multitudes that followed them, in the public places of cities, and in the open fields. Hence arose a great awakening. The small society which the Brethren had settled, also increased much in a short time. *Wesley* having desired the assistance of the Brethren in establishing and maintaining proper order among the awakened ; *Philip Henry Molther*, a student of *Jena*, who had been ordained a minister in the church of the Brethren, and was designed for *Pennsilvania*, but, during the severe winter in 1740, and by a violent fit of sickness, was detained at *London*, took upon him the care of the awakened in the interim. But as *Wesley* disagreed with him in point of doctrine, and did not chuse to submit to certain regulations made among the Brethren with a view to prevent all offence and scandal, he separated, and established societies of his own.

Many souls were also awakened by *Ingham's* preaching in *Yorkshire* ; and, at his request, *John Toeltschig* was sent to his assistance. In the mean time, a great awakening took place at and about *Bedford*, through the sermons of Mr.

Francis

Francis Okely and the Rev. *Jacob Rogers*. The Brethren who, according to their desire, were sent to assist them, found, among the awakened, persons not merely concerned about hearing the word, but truly in earnest to experience the power of it. These were formed into societies, and ministered unto by the Brethren.

§ 82.

WITH respect to the mission among the Negroes in *South Carolina*, the Brethren *Boehler* and *Schulius* were, by the views of those who ought to have forwarded them, (though even the clergy of the church of England desired their assistance,) hindered from prosecuting their proper aim. They could do no more than take upon them the care of some Swiss colonists and their children in the town of *Purisbury*, where no Negroes lived at that time; as, indeed, in the whole province of *Georgia* the keeping Negroes was then by law prohibited. Both of them fell sick. *Schulius* departed this life in 1739; and *Boehler*, who was at the same time minister of the colony in *Georgia*, went with the colonists to *Pennsylvania*. The reason of this was, that the Spaniards, being jealous of their English neighbours, wanted to drive them out of *Georgia*. The Brethren being, among the rest, summoned in 1737 to take up arms in defence of the country, and to march against the Spaniards; they refused it, as being no freeholders, and, of consequence, not obliged to it according to the laws of the colony: having, already before their going to *Georgia*, declared that they neither could nor would do any military service. They represented this grievance to the trustees, who also exempted them from personal service. But as this exemption embittered the minds of the people against them, some of the Brethren in 1738 left their flourishing plantations, having repaid all the money which had been advanced them towards their passage and settlement, and went to *Pennsylvania*. The rest were left undisturbed for a while. But in 1739,

when the troubles of war broke out afresh, being again molested on account of military service, they followed their Brethren in the spring of 1740, and afterwards began the colonies at *Bethlehem* and *Nazareth*, &c. as we shall see in the following Part.

By this means, the mission among the Indians, which began with a fair prospect *, was also interrupted. It is true, after the Brethren's departure, *John Hagen*, at the request of the Rev. Mr. *Whitefield*, who wanted the assistance of a Brother in his intended institutions, went thither, and endeavoured, at the same time, to be serviceable to the Indians. But not having full liberty given him for this last purpose, and *Whitefield* not chusing to employ him any longer as an assistant amongst his awakened people, because he objected to the doctrine of reprobation, which *Whitefield* began to preach here; he also repaired to Pennsylvania, and found an opportunity of labouring with blessing among the savages in those parts.

* I will take occasion from hence, to make, for once, use of the testimony of an adversary of the Brethren. Dr. *Carpzov*, superintendent of *Lubec*, writes in his *Examination of the Religion of the Bohemian Brethren*, page 417, " Thus we are also informed, by a private letter from the *Indies*, that the *Chiriki*, *Chikafi*, and *Natchi* tribes came to the Moravian Brethren, as early as the year 1736, to hear the gospel; and that such as lived a little nearer them, sent their children to their school; which, with money advanced by the English general *Oglethorpe*, was built, for the sake of the Indians, in August the same year, near the river *Savannah*, and opened on the 25th of September. Some Indian boys had learned to read pretty well, and began to write. The case was the same with the girls. The Brethren's aim was, to induce the parents to let their children live entirely at the school, that the good which had been planted in them, might not be destroyed again among the Heathen. They also were in hopes of more easily acquiring, by this means, the Indian languages, which are almost as numerous as the Indian nations themselves, and thus, of qualifying themselves to preach the gospel among them." With this account compare what has been mentioned in § 61.

§ 83.

IN Autumn 1738 the ordinary went to *Holland*, with a view to put in execution his long intended visitation of the missions among the Heathen. He found here a great commotion among the people, raised by some Reformed ministers against the Brethren, under the pretence of zeal for the purity of the doctrine, and for the peace of the church. To effect this, divers expressions not only of the count, but of all those who pretended to have any acquaintance with him, being partly misunderstood, and partly notoriously wrested, were called in to their aid; a collection of which was studiously made at a synod in South Holland. Though the Brethren in Holland had, verbally, in writing, and in print, sufficiently explained their mind, and offered themselves for a farther personal hearing; yet the greatest part of the *Classis*, or consistory, of *Amsterdam*, thought fit to publish the so-called *Fatherly Pastoral Letter* against the Brethren*. But four respectable members of the *Classis* immediately protested against the publication of this Letter, of whom the Rev. Mr. *De Bruin*, who was prevented by sickness from being present, wrote his protest with seven cogent reasons, some of which were, that the Brethren had not been heard at all, notwithstanding their frequent offers to answer for themselves; and that he knew no such *Herrnhuters*, as were described in the Pastoral Letter, &c. He caused this protest to be read in the assembly of the *Classis*, and, soon after, to be printed. The Brethren once more offered to clear themselves; but were not heard. The ordinary

* This letter may be read at large in the *Buedingen-Collection*, II. p. 289 to 339, with some remarks on the part of the Brethren; and, some false sentences and wrested constructions excepted, serves as a clear proof that the Brethren, every where, avow and urge the evangelical doctrine of the Augustan confession, without fear of man, or any accommodation to those of other religions.

himself engaged in the affair, and requested the Classis, in a writing, to point out to him the complaints against the Brethren, to which they might expect a speedy answer, before they published the letter. He, moreover, forewarned them against these proceedings. But all these endeavours were as little regarded, as his *Answer to Professor Gerdes's Academical Oration*, and that gentleman's charge against him of many mystical errors; as also his writing to his friend, the Rev. Mr. *Schiphout*, deputy to the synod, concerning some erroneous tenets ascribed to him and the Brethren. For, notwithstanding all this, the Pastoral Letter was printed. Indeed, the sale of it was at first suspended by the magistrates, when in the mean time the *Declaration of the Brethren near Ysselstein* sold fast. But, to prevent a mob, they were obliged to allow again the sale of it; however, not without first censuring the procedure of the Classis, appealing to their consciences, and charging them to engage in no such thing for the future without conferring with the civil commissioners. If the magistrates were forced, in order to avoid a greater evil, to connive at an acknowledged injustice; the Brethren, to avoid greater disturbances in the church, could do no better, than to suffer and be silent; especially, as they might expect more approbation by their bearing oppression, than their adversaries could expect honour by their supposed victory. However, every sincere person, concerned for the furtherance of the kingdom of Jesus, must needs feel pain, reflecting that, by means of this letter, great hinderances were laid in the way of the labour of the Brethren among the Heathen; where, in some places, the fruit of the gospel, already sprung up, was, as it were, trodden under foot: (§ 79 and 80.) though it did not prove very hurtful to the cause of the Brethren in Europe, since here, by a nearer inspection, it was easy to be convinced of the contrary.

§ 84.

THE ordinary could do no more in this affair, than publish a cordial and tender *Declaration concerning what had passed at Amsterdam, since the 28th of October 1738, relative to himself, and the Congregation of the Lord which he served*. He then embarked for *St. Thomas*. But on the day of his departure from the *Texel*, he sent back an *Instrument concerning Herrnhut*, setting forth in what relation this congregation should stand to the Lutheran church in general, and the parish of *Bertholdsdorf* in particular; together with his *Eventual last Will*; since he could not know, whether he should ever return in health from this dangerous voyage to an unhealthy island, in which so many of his fellow-labourers had found their graves. The unreasonable censures of some whom it did not at all concern, even of some Brethren at Herrnhut, that he was continually sending people into an unhealthy climate, where they must soon die, had induced him, among the three visitations to be undertaken this year, to chuse for himself that to the *West Indies* and *Georgia**. He commissioned the Rev. Mr. *Neisser* to go upon the visitation to *Greenland*, who indeed in 1739 came as far as *Disco* in a Dutch ship; but this, with three other ships, being seized for carrying on a traffic in prohibited places, he was obliged to return without executing his commission. However, that wherein he failed was accomplished by *Andrew Grasmann* in the year 1740, to an abiding blessing for that mission. *David Nitschmann*, junior, visited the mission among the *Hottentots*, on his way to *Ceylon*. But the ordinary sailed the 27th of December 1738, with some Brethren and Sisters, who had offered themselves for the mission

* He intended to go to *Georgia* by way of *Pennsylvania*: but as he found in *St. Thomas* no ship bound thither, this voyage was laid aside for that time.

among the Negroes, for *St. Thomas*, and arrived there the 29th of January 1739 by way of *St. Eustatia*. I will say no more of the incidents on his voyage thither and on his return, singular and agreeable as they are, than that he was very busily employed at sea, and in particular wrote the treatise, *Jeremiah, a Preacher of Righteousness*, &c. which has proved so blessed and comfortable to many a concerned Lutheran minister. He also finished on this voyage the *Essay of a Translation of the New Testament*, which he had begun some years before, and continued on his travels amidst many difficulties and various avocations; insomuch that we have no cause to be surpris'd at the defects of this work acknowledged by himself.

§ 85.

ON his arrival in *St. Thomas* he found all the Brethren in prison, where they had lain fifteen weeks in the most wretched condition. The case was this. The Reformed clergyman *Borm*, according to his own letter, had taken upon him to examine some converted Negroes, and to rebaptize one of them. But, as they were not willing to answer his improper and captious questions, he instigated the common council to petition the governor to forbid the Brethren to administer baptism, as being not regularly ordained, and to compel a certain missionary, who was married by *Frederic Martin*, to be married again. But as no answer followed, the governor being satisfied with the declaration of the Brethren; they had, under the pretext of a robbery, charged upon the Brethren, from which they were to clear themselves by an oath, which they refused, prevailed upon the governor to imprison them all. It is easy to imagine what was the true reason. The converted Negroes, indeed, desired no exemption from bodily labour on account of their conversion; but would maintain the liberty to which Christ had called them, and no longer suffer themselves to be

be abused unto sin*. In the mean while they proceeded to edify one another, notwithstanding they were beaten, whipt, their books burnt, the Brethren reviled, and the holy sacraments, which they had received at their hands, treated with contempt.

As soon as the ordinary landed, and was informed that the Brethren were in prison; he sent to the governor, and desired their enlargement. He discharged them the next day, made an apology for what had passed, and wished to come to an agreement with him, in what manner the Brethren might in future preach the gospel to the Negroes, till a royal mandate should arrive in this case. The ordinary concerted measures with him; but *Frederic Martin* would listen to no proposals, which could have the least tendency to make the Negroes hypocrites. The ordinary was desirous also to treat, by a notary, with the Reformed minister, in order to procure quiet for the Negroes; but he declined it.

The number of Negroes, who heard the gospel with eagerness, amounted, even then, to eight hundred. These, after their work was done, came diligently to the meetings, which the ordinary held for them. He procured for the mission a small plantation, called, *The Posaunenberg*, where the Negroes might come to the preaching in peace and safety; but was, presently after the dedication of the church and his farewell-discourse, grieved to hear that some drunken people fell upon the Negroes with cutting and slashing. The behaviour of the enemies became, after his departure, so outrageous, that they were forced to hold their meetings in the woods. In the mean time the ordinary's representation to the king, and the petition of the Negroes to both their royal majesties, effected so much, that, by a re-

* By this remark, all the masters of slaves, disinclined to the mission, are no more accused, than all the Negroes, that attended the preaching of the Brethren, can and will be acquitted of actual faults.

script to the West India company of the 7th of August 1739, orders were given to suffer the Brethren to labour among the Negroes without molestation, and to protect them against the Reformed clergyman. But, notwithstanding this, they were still obliged to undergo many pressures, till the masters of the Negroes saw by their behaviour, that they received no damage, but advantage from their conversion *.

The ordinary, on his return, wrote a letter to a dissatisfied friend, in which, as also in the *Declaration of Mr. Carsten, director of the West India Company, in behalf of the Moravian Brethren in St. Thomas*, we have a full view of the state of the mission at that time. He himself, in a letter to a labourer at Herrnhut, very modestly expresses himself concerning it, thus: "The congregation in St. Thomas is
 " twice as large, as the chapel at Herrnhut can contain.
 " The many thousand tears, which they shed at the meet-
 " ings, when I was with them; their faithfulness under
 " grievous sufferings, (a Negro being a very anxious and
 " timorous creature) the several faithful and apostolic la-
 " bourers from among them, render them very dear and
 " venerable. My business, possibly, was to release the
 " Brethren who were all in prison, to settle the congrega-
 " tion, to provide some new places with labourers, to buy
 " again in a suitable manner the Negro-helpers sold away
 " from the island, and to show my Brethren that St. Tho-
 " mas is neither too remote, nor too unhealthy, to be visited
 " by us. These things, together with some other matters,
 " our Saviour has granted me to succeed in. But I look
 " upon the whole voyage in no other light, than as a blessed
 " school for myself."

* All these events are more fully set forth in *Oldendorp's History of the Mission of the evangelical Brethren in the Caribbee Islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. Jan*, published in German in 1777.

§ 86.

BEFORE we proceed to take a view of the employment of the ordinary, after his visitation in St. Thomas, I must still mention a little more circumstantially, the *Dedication of the Book of Daily Words for the Year 1739*, which, before his departure out of the Texel, he sent back into the congregations: because it contains those countries and places, where congregations, missions, and colonies were at that time, or even Brethren stationed singly, in the service of the kingdom of Jesus. The *Dedication* is: *The good Word of the Lord for 1739, selected out of all the Prophets, for his Congregations and Servants at*

1. *Herrnhut in Upper Lusatia*: of which enough has been said hitherto.

2. *Herrnhaag* in the county of *Ysenburg*: of which see § 78.

3. *Heerendyk* near *Yffelstein*. § 66.

4. *Pilgerub*. So the place was called, which the before-mentioned colony in *Royal Holstein* (§ 60.) built in the year 1737, near *Oldeslohe*: of which more hereafter.

5. *Ebersdorf*. Here has been an *Ecclesiola*, ever since the end of the last century; which, since the marriage of count *Zinzendorf* with a countess of this house, came into a nearer connexion with *Herrnhut*, and obtained several Brethren and Sisters from thence to their assistance.

6. *Jena*. Here the young count *Christian Renatus De Zinzendorf* prosecuted his studies since the year 1737, together with some young gentlemen, and had not only a fine congregation in his house, but a respectable number of awakened students and citizens about him.

7. At *Amsterdam*, and

8. At *Rotterdam* were Brethren, who took care of the awakened. § 73.

9. *London*: of which see § 81.

10. At

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10. At *Oxford* was a Brother from *Moravia*, in order to continue the acquaintance which *Peter Boehler* had made there on his journey to *South Carolina*.

11. At *Berlin* resided a few Brethren, to minister unto the little flock there. § 76.

12. In *Greenland* was a mission since 1733, (§ 57.) which in 1738 began to bring forth fruit. Concerning this mission, see the *History of Greenland*.

13. *St. Croix*. § 59.

14. *St. Thomas*. § 56.

15. *St. Jan*, whither some converted Negroes from *St. Thomas* had been sold, was cared for from thence.

16. To *Berbice* in *South America* the first Brethren were gone in this year, 1738. § 80.

17. In *Palestine* and the bordering countries was a Brother, *Jonas Korte*, not sent indeed by the congregation, but yet with their prayers and blessing. The account of his journey is known.

18. To *Surinam* in *South America* the first Brethren were sent in 1735. § 62.

19. At *Savannah* in *Georgia* was still at that time the colony mentioned in § 61 and 82.

20. To the *Negroes* in *Carolina* two Brethren were gone; according to § 73 and 82.

21. Among the *Savages* in *Irene*. So the mission among the *Creeks* in *Georgia* was called : of which see § 82, in the note.

22. In *Pennsylvania* were not only the two Brethren, who went thither with the *Schwenkfelders* from *Upper Lusatia*; according to § 49; but the Rev. Mr. *Spangenberg* also, after his visitation in *St. Thomas*, resided there till the year 1739; not without blessing.

23. Among the *Hottentots* was the *Moravian* Brother *George Schmid* in blessing. § 79.

24. In *Guinea* : of which see § 79.

25. In

25. In *Lettonia* and *Esthonia* the ordinary was obliged to fulfil his promise, sending the Brethren desired for the assistance of some ministers; of whose blessed labour mention was made in § 70. Brevity forbids me to say more at present, than that he faithfully cautioned the ministers there, not to exceed the bounds of the ecclesiastical constitution of the country with the Brethren given them. See his two Letters in the *Buedingen-Collection*, Vol. I. p. 367, 368. compared with the pastor primarius *Mikwitz's* Letter. *Ibid.* III. p. 831.

26. In *Lithuania*, *Frederic Boehnisch*, afterwards a missionary in *Greenland*, and *Demuth*, had, in 1733, visited the emigrants from *Salzburg*, who afterwards were often visited, at the request of some ministers, by the Brethren travelling that way to *Livonia*.

27. In *Russia*, a Lutheran minister had, at *St. Petersburg*, a Brother who was a candidate for the ministry, as domestic tutor and assistant in preaching; and desired to have a Brother as clerk. Also a Brother from *Moravia* was house-steward to count *Ostermann*.

28. On the *White Sea*; and,

29. In *Lapland*, three Brethren made an attempt, according to § 58, from 1734 to 1738, to bring the gospel among the *Laplanders* and *Samojedes*; but were imprisoned on that account.

30. In *Norway*, besides some Brethren who maintained themselves by their labour, and withal were used in blessing, by some ministers, for the purpose of conversing with their awakened parishioners, a student lived as tutor with a minister at *Bergen*, who preached with the permission of the bishop.

31. To *Switzerland* Brethren were gone in the years 1730 and 1731, to obtain some intelligence of the *Waldenses* *. Also baron *Frederic De Watteville* had visited his father

* The visit to the *Waldenses* in the valleys of *Piedmont* proved the first time, in 1744, in vain; but the second time, in 1745,
it

father and relations at *Bern*, and other friends. From hence arose a blessed acquaintance with the venerable *Samuel Lucius* and other ministers in Switzerland, who made use of the Brethren for the more solid establishment of the awakened.

32. In the *Isle of Man*, the venerable hoary head, *Thomas*, bishop of *Sodor and Man*, afterwards antistes of the Reformed Tropus in the Unity, kept up a correspondence with the ordinary, and had this year a descendent of the Waldenses, from the church of the Brethren, with him*.

33. To *Shetland*, two Brethren had travelled through *Scotland*, in order to search for the *Waldenses*, who were dispersed thither at the time of a great persecution.

34. In prison, besides the three Brethren mentioned N^o. 29, were then always some for the sake of the gospel; a year scarcely passing without it. This year, in *Silesia*, where, since 1725, a new life was sprung up among the descendents of the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren who had fled thither, *Ernest Julius De Seidlitz*, lord of the manor of *Upper Peilau*, was cast into prison, on account of his labour among them.

35. On the pilgrimage to *Ceylon*. See § 80. The two Brethren did not set off, till after the ordinary's departure to *St. Thomas*.

36. To *Ethiopia*, one Brother; and

37. To *Persia*, a physician with his wife were then ready to go: to *Ethiopia*, in order to gain an acquaintance with the *Coptic church*, and their patriarch; to *Persia*, with a view to

it was executed, though with great danger. Neither were the Reformed in *France* forgotten; but, since 1737, they have been frequently visited with blessing, though in illness and good order.

* Among the many correspondents of the Brethren in almost all the Protestant countries and religions, who were wellwishers of their labour, especially among the Heathen, and promised them their good advice and assistance; I will, on this occasion, and in this year, only take notice of two, *Dr. Watts* and *Dr. Doddridge*, sufficiently known by their learned and edifying writings. See a Recommendatory Letter from the former in the *Acta Fratrum*, &c. App. LVI. p. 42.

make the true Light known to the *Gauri* or *Gebri*, the posterity of the *Magi* or *wise men*, who worshipped the new-born King of the Jews, Matt. ii. But they suffering themselves to be detained by other business from the prosecution of this design, these journeys were undertaken by other Brethren, in the years 1747 and 1752.

38. *On visitations to the messengers among the Heathen.* This matter was treated of in the foregoing § 84 and 85.

39. *And elsewhere, by land and sea*, there has never been a cessation of journeys and voyages in the service of the kingdom of Jesus, from 1727 to this present time.

§ 87.

THUS, the descendents of the Bohemian Brethren had, in a short time, properly in the six years from 1732 to 1738; honourably; and to every one's surprise, fulfilled the desire of the late Dr. *Luther*, That they should not confine themselves to their native country, but learn languages, and preach the gospel to other nations also; which some of his followers now seem inclined to censure. Though some have been disposed to represent this *Dedication* as ostentatious and untrue; yet I can assure the reader, that no notice is taken in it of those places where the Brethren have visited on their journeys, and left a blessing behind them, in the ten years, since 1727; but did not reside there in this year 1738. Neither are those places comprised in this list, where, even about this time, smaller or larger flocks, according to the pattern of Dr. *Spener's* wished-for *Ecclesiæ in Ecclesia*, were gathered, and connected with the congregation of the Brethren; but just then had no member of it among them. Even some posts where Brethren then actually resided for the good of souls, are not mentioned. I remember, that, about this time, a Brother, whose name was *Piper*, resided in *Iceland*; and that, soon after the ordinary's return from *Berlin* to *Marienborn*, *Leonhard Dober* lived at *Amsterdam*,

to see if it were possible to find an entrance with the gospel among the *Jews*. His stay was not entirely without blessing; which afterwards induced *Samuel Lieberkuehn*, M. A. to live among them for some years. He, indeed, made no proselytes from among them; although several baptized *Jews* from other places, as also *Turks* and *Persians*, came to the congregation of the Brethren: but yet many were so powerfully convinced of the truth of the gospel, that numbers of them attended his sermons in several Lutheran churches in *Holland*; and, some years after, his discourses to the congregation at *Zeist*; and afforded hope, that many, perhaps, in their last hours might flee for refuge to the true mercy-seat.

The *Gypsies*, some fruits of whom were also seen in the congregation, were applied to by the merchant *Abraham Ehrenfried Richter*, of *Stralsund*. He, having lived awhile at *Herrnhut*, even in his old age was desirous of gratifying his great inclination to recommend the happiness of the children of God to the most wretched of human creatures; and, to this end, to go to the assistance of the missionary among the *Hottentots*. He sought leave for it in *Holland*; but as he could not obtain it, he went to *England* and *France*, where his name and animating exhortations in many places have left a good favour to this day. From *England* he went to *Algiers*. The Dutch admiral *Schryver* had desired the ordinary to let the captive Christian slaves in *Algiers* be taken care of. *Richter* found himself inclined to it, and went thither in October 1739. He cared faithfully for them; and, notwithstanding all the representations of the Christian consuls, who wished to be of service to him, spared himself so little, that, at the very time of the plague, he moved into the town, went to the slaves in their *Banges* (barracks), preached to them, and ministered to their bodily wants, and prepared many for their end, until he himself was taken off, the 19th of July 1740, by the plague, which he had once before passed through. The afore-mentioned admiral *Schryver* was also
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the occasion to, and the furtherance of, *Charles Nottbek's* going to *Algiers*. He went to *Lisbon* in the year 1744, as clerk to a well-disposed merchant, and arrived at *Algiers* in May 1745. The admiral recommended him in the best manner to the Dutch consul there. He staid till October 1748; during which time he ministered unto the slaves, with the permission of the dey, at times in danger of his life, both by preaching the gospel to them, and by other works of love and mercy. He was also visited, during his stay, by his own brother *Christian Nottbek* and by *Gottlieb Haberecht*, from the congregation. His abode there was not without fruit; for some of them, having obtained their liberty, went to some congregations of the Brethren, in which they finished their course happily.

§ 88.

FOR the sake of historical connexion, we now revert to the ordinary's return from *St. Thomas*. He sailed from thence in February 1739, by way of *St. Croix* and *St. Eustatia*, and arrived in *England* April the 20th, visited at *London* and *Oxford*, and found great awakenings in the country. In *Holland* he met here and there with blessed little flocks, though a great deal was spoken and written against the Brethren, which induced him to publish a declaration, why he gave no answer to these things. On the first of June he arrived at *Marienborn*, sick, wretched, emaciated, and all over full of boils and sores; and after some time he got the quartan ague, which so affected him, that his recovery was doubtful. Thus, it might easily have become a serious matter with regard to the report, that he died on his voyage to the West Indies; though others, on the contrary, who could not comprehend, how it was possible to sail to the West-Indies and back again in so short a space of time, gave it out as an infamous falsehood, that he ever had been in *St. Thomas*. When, therefore, upon the report of his death, a

greater number of adversaries rose up in public writings against him, he showed that he was still alive, and wrote, under the date of September the 25th, 1739, an *Empfang-Schein*, or, *A Receipt of the new controversial Writings*, which, as it were, lays down his last sentiments and mind in doctrine and practice, and in all his actions; and which, together with the remarks annexed by the Rev. Mr. Spangenberg, is well worth reading.

At *Marienborn* he found his son *Christian Renatus*. He was, in the mean time, returned from *Jena*, and his tutors and other students of divinity had followed him hither. This was the beginning of the *Theological Seminary*, which soon after received an increase from *Halle*, and, by degrees, from almost all the universities in and out of Germany. Sick as the ordinary was, he gave, the day after his arrival, an extensive account to the congregation of his voyage and transactions, so as, at that time, all the missionaries coming from their posts used to do; and ordained two candidates that were come with his son. He then went to *Ebersdorf*, and held a *Synod* in June with the Brethren convened thither for that purpose; at which, in particular, the congregation-regulations in Lutheran and Reformed countries, according to the platform of *Herrnhut*, if not even according to that of the Moravian church, were entirely disapproved. Yet the fellowship of, and good order among, the awakened in such places, were not meant to be affected by this; but these were rather recommended, and only advised to be regulated agreeably to the religious and civil constitution of the respective countries. But where this would not be allowed of, in such case, people could not be hindered from departing, and seeking their liberty in the congregations of the Brethren.

From *Ebersdorf* the ordinary, for the sake of his health, took a journey into *Wuerttemberg*, and preached in several Imperial and other cities in the churches. His sermon at

Halle in *Swabia* was inaccurately taken down and printed. He complained of this to the dean, who endeavoured to redress this fault. At his return to *Marienborn*, he was, in an especial manner, concerned for the welfare of the congregation at *Herrnhaag*; and took care, that the Brethren, desired for *Livonia* and other places, were properly chosen, prepared, and dispatched.

§ 89.

ABOUT this time the Brethren attempted to bring the gospel also to the Heathen in the *East*, and likewise to renew their acquaintance with the *Greek* church, by which the gospel was first brought to *Bohemia* and *Moravia*. To this end, *Arvid Gradin*, M. A. a Swede, was dispatched with a letter from the bishops of the Brethren, dated November the 10th, 1739, to the patriarch of *Constantinople*, to whom he laid open, not only at a very honourable audience he obtained of him, April the 26th, but particularly in several friendly conversations with the archbishop of *Dercom*, the origin, doctrine, and constitution of the Unity of the Brethren, both in writing and by word of mouth; with the request to give him a recommendatory letter to the *Greek* clergy, in behalf of the missionaries to the Heathen in the *East*; which was also granted. But, as it contained more than he desired, mention being made of such an union and agreement with the *Greek* church, as did not exist; he desired, that some expressions might be altered. But, as this could not be done, because the writing was synodally drawn up; he, having taken a copy of it, from too great scrupulosity, returned it; which was the occasion of an apology being afterwards sent to the archbishop of *Dercom*, who had taken most pains in the affair. The proper view, and the whole result of this deputation, together with other transactions of the deputy, are related at large in the *Natural Reflections*; and in the *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia*, App.

LXVI, part of the *Journal* of this *Negotiation* is inserted, which is worth reading, as an example of the utmost care, which is taken by the Brethren to prevent all appearance of syncretism in their dealings with other churches. However, this deputation was attended with this advantage, that the descent of the Unity of the Brethren from the Greek church was acknowledged. As to the acquaintance with the same, this was again attempted in the year 1743, and since, to 1747, by the same *Arvid Gradin*, at *St. Petersburg*, with many advantages, though under great difficulties; but it was not brought into the right channel till the year 1763, as we shall see in its place.

§ 90.

THE Brethren being informed, about this time, that the hospodar of *Wallachia*, which country is of the *Greek* church, endeavoured to draw German artificers into his territories; *Zacharias Hirschel* from *Bohemia*, and *Nicholas Andrew Jaeschke* from *Moravia*, were, in 1740, dispatched to him, to make a more strict enquiry into this matter. Their journey through the Empire, Hungary and *Transilvania*, was blessed in a great measure, but exceedingly dangerous, it being performed just at the end of the Turkish war, when all parts swarmed with robbers. Besides, they were several times in danger of being torn to pieces by the dogs, which, in those great wildernesses, are kept with the herds of cattle. Twice the Turks, who took them to be spies, on account of their German dress, would have cut off their heads, had not a poor officer of the Janissaries, to whom they showed some kindness on the road, protected them; and, when they were out of all danger, first told them why he had so often quarrelled with the Turks. July the 1st, 1740, they arrived at *Bukarest*, the chief city of *Wallachia*; had, on the 12th of July, a gracious audience of the hospodar and his *Bojars*, and set out the 19th on their return furnished

ed with an original Greek letter of invitation, and a privilege for the Brethren, who were willing to settle there ; which letter was translated into Latin. But the news which presently followed of the hospodar's death, and the troubles of war ensuing afterwards, rendered this affair impracticable for the time being.

§ 91.

IN the mean time, the missions to the Heathen in the *East* were obliged to be postponed for the present. But in the *West*, a congregation of Negroes, collected from among the Heathen, was already in a prosperous condition. Nor were the missions in *Georgia* and *South Carolina* as yet given up. In *Surinam* and *Berbice* the Brethren had good hopes ; and preparation was made for a mission among the *Indians* in *North America*. *Christian Henry Rauch* was gone thither in the year 1739. He arrived in July, 1740, at *New York*. Here his undertaking was looked upon as almost impossible ; because not only several fruitless attempts had been made from England for this purpose : but because it was attended with the greatest danger for a white man to dwell among the *Indians*, among whom, when they were drunk, he was never sure of his life. *Rauch* was not dismayed at this, so as to relinquish his aim ; but put his trust in him who had sent him, and to whom nothing is impossible. He also soon found an opportunity of speaking with two *Mahikanders*, who had something to transact with the governor at *New York*. Having made known to them the aim of his coming hither, he begged them to take him with them to their place of abode. They did so ; and brought him to their habitation at *Chekomelah*, situate on the *Stiffiker Mountains*, on the borders of *New England*. They at first received him friendly, and heard with attention the good words he made known unto them of their Creator and Redeemer. But the white people, who lived round about this place,

having rendered him suspected by the Indians, they were so set against him, that they threatened to shoot him. But the Lord held his hand over him; and the Indians, at length, received a different opinion of him, by his loving and patient behaviour. At last he found such entrance to their hearts with the testimony of the gospel, that he had, even in the year 1741, a great assembly around him; and, in the year 1742, the three first-fruits were baptized.

About this time, the presence of some chief labourers became more and more necessary in *Pennsylvania* and in other parts of *America*. The senior bishop, *David Nitschmann*, resolved to go thither himself. It was necessary to elect another bishop in his place. This, and other circumstances, gave occasion to the *Synod*, which was held at *Gotha*, in summer 1740. The election fell upon *Polycarp Mueller*, formerly professor at *Leipzig*, and late director of the academy at *Zittau*. His consecration took place, July the 9th, in *Wetteravia*. Among other important points treated of at this synod, a resolution was also taken, by a solemn deputation of the elder, *John Leonhard Dober*, and the newly elected bishop *Polycarp*, both in word and writing, to ask pardon of the institution at *Halle*, which was thought to have been aggrieved several ways; but as it was not accepted, so the desired effect was not attained.

§ 92.

DEPUTIES also appeared at this synod from the colony in *Holstein*. When this colony, according to § 60, was not received in *Ducal Holstein*, the Brethren, in the beginning of the year 1736, had turned their thoughts to *Royal Holstein*, in expectation of the good advice from their Brethren, whether they should settle here, or move to some other place? The count had advised them to go to *Holland*, where, according to § 66, a colony was to be established in the barony of *Yffelstein*. But they had, by means of some great patrons

patrons and friends, both in church and state, been induced to settle in Royal Holstein. Here, indeed, they obtained such privileges and immunities, as they neither could nor should have at Herrnhut or in Ducal Holstein; for they had even a minister, ordained by *David Nitschmann*, bishop of the Moravian Brethren. But certain conditions and restrictions were annexed, among which the solemn renunciation of the congregation at Herrnhut, and of the superintendency of count Zinzendorf, then antistes of the Moravian Brethren, was the most embarrassing. The deputy, *John Martin Dober*, who had submitted to a regular examination for his office, and gained a fine testimonial of his orthodoxy from the superintendent general, *George John Conradi*, withdrew from this negotiation, leaving a protest against it, and returned to Herrnhut. But the rest of the Brethren built, in 1737, a settlement near *Oldesloe*, and called this new colony, *Pilgerruh*. Their minister, *John George Waiblinger*, M. A. was inducted by the superintendent general, who had taken most pains to draw them into the Danish territories. For a time they stood in such favour with every one, and even in such blessing, that two of them were sent with the superintendent general's letters patent into the district of *Tondern*, in order to bring separatists, residing there, who gave the clergy a great deal of trouble, to rights again. But the effects of their precipitation in the beginning of this colony, soon appeared. They perceived the want of fellowship with their Brethren, and of growth in inward grace, resulting from it. Erroneous opinions and divisions arose among them, which at length broke out in a schism. More and more was also required of them from without, which they could not comply with. Though the count likewise had declared, that they were not under his superintendency, and insisted upon their keeping the promise they had once made; yet this was not sufficient, but they were now required to take a particular oath, and to sign a written declaration on this head. This burdened their consciences. They sent deputies to the *Synod* of the Brethren,

thren, assembled at *Gotha*, and asked pardon of the synod and all the congregations for their precipitance, revoked their renunciation of them, and requested the intercession of the Brethren at court. For this purpose, the syndic *John Gottlieb Boehmer* was deputed to *Copenhagen*. But as he effected nothing, they desired leave to emigrate. This request was partly granted them, and partly commanded by a Royal edict of the 24th of March 1741. However, upon a very pressing representation of the superintendent general, and of some other patrons of high rank at court, the Brethren afterwards were again permitted to stay; a dispensation was granted them from taking the oath, and from renouncing the congregation; and all possible favour and indulgence promised. But as they had, mean while, begun to emigrate, the remainder, whose farther stay, on account of the inward disharmony among them, was not approved of, were likewise provided for in other congregations; and the place was to be supplied with new and useful colonists. But the regency of the country not agreeing to this, the houses stood empty, and were sold since 1751.

§ 93.

AFTER the synod at *Gotha*, the conferences were, in the month of December 1740, continued at *Marienborn*, in which especially the doctrine, and the manner of propounding it, were treated of with particular clearness. In the mean time, the subjects of the count of *Ysenburg Buedingen* had presented a complaint against their sovereign to the Imperial chamber of justice at *Wezlar*. One of the charges was, his having received the Brethren, to whom they attributed an erroneous confession of faith. They were dismissed without obtaining their aim. A visit made by one of the most respectable assessors of the Imperial chamber to *Marienborn* and *Herrnhaag*, had not only the most happy effect upon his
own

own heart, which appeared in particular at his edifying departure out of time; but also gave the rest of the assessors quite another insight into the cause of the Brethren. But yet the ordinary could not be satisfied with this; and was determined, at his intended journey to America, not to leave the Brethren's congregation in an uncertainty, in what light they were considered in the German empire. He was informed, that attempts had been made by respectable states of the empire to procure an entire proscription of the Brethren, which, however, was put a stop to by one of the spiritual electors, who assigned this reason, "That the count
 " and the Brethren's congregation aimed at nothing but
 " the advancing the glory and kingdom of God; and that
 " their enemies, instigated by mere envy, wanted to exclude
 " them from the privileges of those who adhered to the
 " confession of Augsburg." The ordinary, therefore, took occasion from this complaint given in at, but rejected by, the Imperial chamber, to endeavour, first of all, to move the Imperial fiscal to an examination of any charges come to his knowledge. But as he could not enter into the matter, the ordinary went himself to *Wexlar* towards the end of this year, and requested the Imperial chamber to examine all the accusations against the Brethren, which had for some time been spread abroad in the world. But it was not thought at all necessary, and endeavours were used to dissuade him from it. The case was the same with his pressing solicitation to the count of Ysenburg Buedingen, sovereign of the country in which Herrnhag lay, to join with him in attempting, after a previous communication with all sorts of his adversaries, to procure a solid examination, and thus to make an end of the accusations not only against this congregation, but against the whole church of the Brethren, before the Imperial chamber, or some other temporal or spiritual court.

§ 94.

THIS attempt he made from *Geneva*, whither he was gone with his family in the beginning of the year 1741, in order to get acquainted with the church of *Geneva*, as the proper seat of *Calvin*, and the mother of many Presbyterian churches; and, after the example of the ancient Brethren in *Bohemia*, to enter into a friendly correspondence with this church. At the same time he was willing to serve his friends in *Switzerland*, who desired to be visited by the Brethren. He had, for that end, taken more Brethren with him, than he and his lady wanted in their service. These made an useful acquaintance with many awakened, who were before inclined to separatism. In order to set them a good example, those of his domestics, who were of the Reformed religion, went with them to the holy communion at Easter. At his house in *Plein Palais* he regulated the meetings, as usual in a congregation: but, though he permitted no strangers to attend them, yet, at their repeated request, he held them, shortly before his departure, some particular discourses. Notwithstanding the weakness, still attending him from his voyage to the West Indies, he had many conversations with the professors and ministers; and put into their hands an ample narrative, dated the 28th of April, of the origin, revolutions, doctrine, regulation, and church-discipline of the Brethren in ancient and modern times, in order to give them a true idea of the church of the Brethren, which, in time to come, might serve as a ground-work for history. For this purpose, as he had done in some other great archives and libraries, he likewise ordered some important documents to be deposited in their library. All this, as it appears by the deputation from the university and the clergy, and by an act drawn up on that occasion, was exceedingly well received, and accompanied with a fine eulogy and good wishes. He also delivered to them a writing in Latin, containing

taining some theological positions concerning the divinity of Christ, and the Holy Trinity; the last of which were intended to refute the accusation, as if the Brethren did not believe in God, or fought, however, to rob the Father of his glory, by which the common people were much incensed against the Brethren, &c. Besides this, the manual of *Daily Words* for the year 1740, entitled, *The Lamb of God in his Godhead and Manhood*, was translated into French, and dedicated to some professors of Geneva.

At last, the people being dissatisfied, that not every one was admitted to the meetings; in order to prevent disturbances, which in such republics have dangerous consequences, the ordinary went away again in the month of May with his whole house. Some of his retinue meeting with ill treatment in passing through a concourse of people; the professors sent him an apology on this head. On this journey the ordinary got into his hands the *Synod of Bern* of 1532, which he, ever since, esteemed very highly as an excellent pastoral instruction.

§ 95.

AFTER the ordinary's return to Wetteravia, on account of the approach of his second voyage to *America*, another synodal conference was held at *Marienborn*, from the 20th of June to the 3d of July 1741. Among other things, a deputation to *Sweden* was resolved upon, in order to give the divines at *Upsal* and *Stockholm* an account of the church of the Brethren. *Martin Dober* and *Arvid Gradin* were nominated for this purpose. They went thither towards the end of the year, and conversed with the divines concerning the doctrine and regulations of the congregation of the Brethren; were kindly treated; and the latter preached, by their desire, several sermons, which found entrance to the hearts, and were attended with blessing.

A chief point at this synod was, that the ordinary, in a discourse to the synodal assembly, laid down the exercise of his

his episcopal function : for he believed, it might be prejudicial to him in his intended labour in *Pennsylvania*, where he purposed to appear merely as a Lutheran divine. He resigned his former offices to bishop *Polycarp Mueller*, who a year ago had been chosen and consecrated in this view. *John Nitschmann*, then inspector of the seminary, was by a majority of votes elected his colleague, and consecrated, on the 22d of July, at *Herrnhaag*, in the presence of the family of the count of Buedingen, and the duke of Wuerttemberg Oels.

§ 96.

SOON after, the ordinary went to *Holland* and *England*. At *London*, he held a final conference from the 11th to the 23d of September 1741 with the elders and servants of the church of the Brethren remaining behind. At this conference *Leonhard Dober*, hitherto elder of the congregations, who had before, on account of the increasing labour occasioned by the rapid spread of the Brethren, desired, by a letter, leave to resign his office, laid it down on September the 16th. While the Brethren were consulting about supplying this important office again, but found no Brother equal to the task, and turned with silent tears unto our Saviour, that he himself would counsel them according to his own heart ; it was impressed upon the minds of several at once, that they could do no better than surrender themselves, with the whole church of the Brethren, and all the divisions and affairs of it, solely to the chief Shepherd and Bishop of their souls, the only Head of the catholic Christian church, and to his immediate care and guidance, even with respect to this office ; entreating him, to be pleased to take this office upon himself among his poor, despised Brethren's Unity, surrounded with numberless enemies, and overloaded with so many affairs of his kingdom ; to preside in the council of his servants, though unseen, yet according to his promise, Matt.

xviii. 19, 20. and chap. xxviii. 20, in an inwardly near and powerful manner; and to bestow upon them the necessary insight, strength and support in all their affairs and concerns. They laid the matter before him in prayer, with many tears, during which the whole company were overpowered with such a divine peace, that they could believe, they had prayed according to his will, and were heard. When this event, together with a general absolution and readmission of all that had erred and been deceived, was, on the 13th of November 1741, made known in the congregations, it was done with such a divine impression in all the hearts, amidst many thousand tears of all present, (when even many that were absent, and knew nothing of it, felt at the same hour an unusual divine power) that, ever since, this day has been solemnized in all the congregations of the Brethren with renewed blessing *. But that which was to be done by men in the manifold affairs of the church of the Brethren, was divided into twelve offices, and the direction thereof, for the present, committed to a conference appointed for that purpose, which then resided at Marienborn, under the presidency of the bishops.

* It is remarkable, that the *Daily Word* of the 13th of November 1741, on which day the congregations of the Brethren surrendered themselves to the universal Shepherd and Bishop of our souls, and paid him homage, was the very same text upon which Comenius preached his farewell-sermon to the congregation at Fulnek, delivering them to the chief Shepherd Jesus Christ: *Feed thy people with thy rod.* Micah vii. 14. See the *Dedication* of his *Catechism* published in the year 1661; concerning which, see *Ancient History*, &c. § 45.

THE
MODERN HISTORY
OF THE
BRETHREN.

PART V.

From the Ordinary of the Brethren's Voyage to Pennsylvania in 1741, to the Synod held at Zeist in 1746.

§ 97.

PRESENTLY after that remarkable event mentioned in the preceding section, the ordinary, with his eldest daughter *Henrietta Benigna Justina*, took shipping for *America*, and arrived at *New York* the 2d of December 1741. He first went to *Philadelphia*, where he acquainted the governor of *Pennsylvania* with his arrival and designs, and desired him to appoint some one to attend his meetings, who understood both German and English, in order to receive the most certain information of what was spoken and transacted in them. He then travelled through the chief districts of the province, where Germans live, in order to become acquainted with the state of religion in this country; which he found confused and deplorable to the last degree. The *Swedes* were the first settlers in this country. Thus,
there

there were some Swedish churches, which had a regular religious constitution. After the country had devolved to the crown of *England*, and was given by the king to the proprietor *Penn*, the *Quakers* settled it, and the constitution of the country was so ordered, that all who believe in a God, should, without farther distinction of religions, live and enjoy full liberty there. From this time a great number of people from Germany, who partly were not tolerated in their former places of abode, on account of their particular opinions, and partly aimed at bettering their temporal condition, repaired thither; and their number might now amount to an hundred and twenty thousand souls. In like manner, the number of the colonists of various denominations was greatly augmented from the neighbouring provinces, from Great Britain, Ireland, and other European nations. Thus, there were found here, Lutherans; Calvinists, or Reformed, of divers confessions, but especially of the synod of *Dort*; Episcopalians; Presbyterians; Independents; Quakers; Baptists; Mennonites, or Anabaptists of several parties; Arians; Socinians; Schwenkfelders; Inspired, or French Prophets; Seventh-Day-Men, or Sabbatharians; Separatists; Hermits; New-lights; New-born; Free-thinkers; and such as doubted of all, and were utterly at a loss what to believe.

The intention of the ordinary was chiefly to serve the German Lutherans, who had no teachers, except some persons, that, for the most part, had neither learning, nor were ordained, and were hired by them for a certain time; nor could procure any regular ministers from Germany, as they could come to no agreement about their salaries. Neither were any sent, till intelligence was received of the labour of the ordinary and his assistants. Thus, their children grew up in the woods without instruction, and most of them without baptism, and, by their wild manners, were rendered despicable to all men. If here and there a soul became concerned about its eternal salvation; such joined the Separatists

tists and other smaller sects, who had an outward appearance of holiness; and, at the same time, despised, and made a mock of, all other religions, and in particular the Lutheran.

§ 98.

THE Brethren had, for some years, been endeavouring to bring the sincere souls among the several parties in Pennsylvania to the simplicity and unity of the gospel. When, in 1734, the *Schwenkfelders* moved thither from Upper Lusatia, two Brethren were, at their request, sent after them from Herrnhut. (§ 49.) These were visited in 1736 by the Rev. Mr. *Spangenberg*, after he had regulated the colony in *Georgia*. On his return from his visitation in St. Thomas, (bishop *David Nitschmann* having, in the mean time, staid in Pennsylvania) he remained till 1739 with the Brethren, who dwelt among the *Schwenkfelders*, seeking to gain them by his word and walk. He became acquainted with some sincere people of divers denominations, who lamented their disunion among, and aversion to, one another. Among these was *John Adam Gruber*, who wrote an address to the dispersed sincere souls, exhorting them to union. This writing may possibly have been an occasion of the ordinary's sending some Brethren to *Pennsylvania*, and in particular, in 1739, *Andrew Eschenbach*, to preach the gospel among the various parties, and, at length, of his going thither himself. But, even as early as the year 1740, the last Brethren from *Georgia* had retreated thither. (§ 82.) These were acquainted with the celebrated English minister, the Rev. *George Whitefield*, who bought a piece of land in Pennsylvania, which he called *Nazareth*, intending to build there a school for the Negroes. He desired the Brethren to view the land, and take upon them the care of the building. This offer they accepted, as from the hand of Providence. They thus found work and their maintenance, could live together, and had no occasion to be scattered among people of divers sects, who

who derided the Brethren, as they did all those who adhered to a regular religion. They began the building amidst many difficulties, yea, in danger of their lives; since Indians lived on that land, who would not leave it, and who, as they learned afterwards, had frequently formed designs against their lives. In the mean time, Whitefield went again to Georgia, where he differed with *John Hagen*, who was arrived from Europe to preach the gospel among the Indians, about several doctrinal points. This was attended with the painful effect, that, when he came thither in the year 1740, the Brethren were obliged to remove from his land at *Nazareth*.

But before this happened, another gentleman of character offered to sell them a piece of land in the *Forks of the Delaware*, on the *Lecha*. When, just at that time, in December 1740, bishop *David Nitschmann* (§ 91.) arrived in Pennsylvania with his company; they took it into consideration, and agreed to build a settlement on that land. The beginning of it was made on the 9th of March 1741. When the ordinary arrived about the end of the year, a small farmhouse with a stable were finished; but the congregation-house was not yet habitable; on which account, Christmas was celebrated in the stable, which was the occasion of calling this place, *Bethlehem*. Not long after, Whitefield found himself necessitated to sell his land with the house half finished. It was offered to the Brethren, who bought it, and finished the house in 1743. Since that time, both places, *Bethlehem* and *Nazareth*, have been greatly increased by several colonies from Europe, and other smaller colonies settled on the *Nazareth-land*.

§ 99.

IN the circumstances recited above the ordinary found the state of religion in *Pennsylvania*, and the few Brethren, who were come thither before him; some of whom, even then,

laboured among the Heathen with blessing. (§ 91.) We will now see, (1.) What he did, during his stay of a year, for the *Religions*, and especially the *Lutheran*; (2.) How it went farther with the *Brethren*; and, (3.) What he undertook for the benefit of the *Mission among the Heathen*.

The beginning of his labour in the *Religions*, he made at the end of the year 1741, with a public sermon in the Reformed church at *Germantown*, about six miles from *Philadelphia*, which was heard, by a very large auditory of different religious denominations, with great attention. The *Lutherans* at *Philadelphia* had fitted up a barn for their public worship, in which the Reformed also performed divine service every fourth Sunday in the month. The former desired to hear the ordinary. He gave previous notice of it to the Reformed minister, who could make no objection; and thus he preached on several Sundays to the Lutherans. He neither could nor would administer the holy communion to the whole promiscuous multitude, who were under no regulation, till, on Palm-Sunday 1742, such an universal emotion of grace was perceived among the whole congregation, as gave him freedom to administer it, on the ensuing Easter-Monday, to all that desired it. Upon this, they gave him a vocation, on the 19th of May, by the name of *Monf. De Thuernstein*, a divine of *Tuebingen*, to be their minister. He had chosen this name, as one of the titles of the counts of *Zinzendorf*, counts of the empire; and laid down, on the 26th of May, being his birth-day, the rank and title of a count, in a public discourse, in presence of the governor and a respectable assembly, for this reason, That this rank and title might not be maltreated, to the dissatisfaction and disadvantage of others of that family, through the reproach and calumnies, which he, as a servant of Christ, neither could nor would avoid. Before he accepted the vocation to be the minister of the Lutherans, he proposed to them some questions, and conditioned with them, that they should never offer him, or his successors, any salary. He also

formed

formed a church-regulation, by virtue of which, agreeably to the advice of *Luther* and *Spener*, only such, as should desire to be Christians indeed, were to be admitted to the holy communion, and, as an *Ecclesiola in Ecclesia*, to be provided with useful regulations. After they had well considered, and agreed to, all this, he accepted the vocation. He supplied likewise other Lutheran congregations in the country with regular ministers and schoolmasters; and took care that the Lutheran families, scattered up and down the country, should be visited, and served with the gospel by some itinerant preachers, appointed for the purpose. He erected a *Consistory* with some ministers; and was, for the time being, the proper inspector of the Lutheran ministry in Pennsylvania. Wherever they met with opposition, the Brethren were directed, out of love to peace, to give way. When the Reformed in *Philadelphia* dragged his adjunct, *John Christopher Pyrlæus*, from the pulpit, and took away the church, he built another. In the mean time, a minister was sent from Germany, who found entrance among those who could not be admitted by the Brethren to the holy communion. After some expostulation, such as would no longer adhere to the Brethren, were readily given up to him; and the rest were so much the more orderly regulated according to the advice of *Luther* and *Spener*. This gave rise to the subsequent *Country-Congregations*, according to the constitution of the church of the Brethren.

Wherever the ordinary, on his travels through the country, was desired to preach, he complied with it, even in Reformed pulpits. But he took care that Reformed Brethren came with the colonists, arriving from time to time from Europe, who might be called by the Reformed to be their ministers.

§ 100.

As to the other religions and smaller parties, many sincere souls among them were greatly concerned on account of the

continual quarrelling with, and judging, one another, and sought peace. The ordinary was willing to make a trial, whether he could be of any assistance to them. *Henry Antes*, one of the German Reformed, sent a circular letter, dated December the 15th, 1741, to all the religious parties of the German nation, desiring them to send deputies to a *General Meeting* at *Germantown*, to be held on New-year's day, with the view, according to his own words, "not to quarrel with one another, but to treat in love of the most important articles of faith, in order to see, how near they could come to one another in the fundamental points; and, as to the rest, in opinions which do not subvert the ground of salvation, to bear with one another in love, to the end that all judging and condemning might be lessened and laid aside." For this purpose, seven such *general conversations*, or *conferences*, were held. The first was at *Germantown*, from the 1st to the 3d of January, old stile; the second in *Falkner's Swamp*, from the 13th to the 15th of January; the third at *Oly*, from the 10th to the 12th of February; the fourth at *Germantown*, from the 10th to the 12th of March; the fifth in the same place, from the 7th to the 9th of April; the sixth in the same place, from the 5th to the 7th of May; the seventh at *Philadelphia*, from the 2d to the 4th of June. In the beginning, almost all sects sent their deputies, who chose the ordinary as syndic or speaker. His view was not, to establish an union of all these religious parties; nor, to join them, or any of them, unto the church of the Moravian Brethren; but to speak fully with them, in all simplicity, according to the holy scriptures, of the most important articles of faith; and, as he himself writes, "to enthrone the Lamb of God, as the Creator, Preserver, Redeemer, and Sanctifier of the whole world; and to introduce the doctrine of his sufferings as the universal theology of the Germans inhabiting Pennsylvania, in theory and practice." He so far succeeded in this intention, that, in the very third session of the first meeting, the simple truth

of the gospel prevailed over sectarian pride and sophistry in such a manner, that all the deputies with one mouth, and most of them with tears, delivered a confession of the atonement of Jesus, and the justification and sanctification by virtue of it. Though some, indeed, afterwards repented of this confession, and, being ashamed of the victory of the truth, were mislead to bitter hatred against, and persecution of, the Brethren; yet they were, at the same time, so humbled by it, that, instead of making a mock of the people in the religions, as they had done hitherto, they were obliged to be ashamed before them. Thus, even at the fourth meeting, all those deputies staid away, who were either ashamed of the simple truth, or apprehensive, that they should not gain entrance and approbation with it among their respective parties. At, and since, the fifth meeting, such only assembled, as sought to abide by the truth as it is in Jesus, both as to themselves and their congregations. These, notwithstanding their particular constitutions and private opinions, bound themselves to brotherly love and fellowship, and, from henceforth, called themselves, *The Congregation of God in the Spirit*, by way of distinction from a congregation living together, or having, however, the same constitution.

But since a literal extract of these transactions, together with the ordinary's own account of the occasion, aim, method, and advantage of them, are laid open before the public*; I will only add that he wrote also, in particular, to the *Quakers*, *Schwenkfelders*, *Baptists*, and *Seventh-day-men*, taking pains to remove the most hurtful tenets, and to help them into the way of the gospel, though he effected but little, and was ill treated by some.

He also made a proposal of erecting a German school for all the children in the country, who had no opportunity for instruction; and his daughter made, at *Germantown*, a trial

* In the count's *Natural Reflections*, p. 197 to 215. and in *Spangenberg's Final Apology*, Appendix V. p. 442.

with some girls. But as such parents, whose children stood most in need of it, were unconcerned about the matter, this proposal was laid aside; and some children out of the country were afterwards taken into the institutions erected for that purpose.

§ 101.

No deputies of the Moravian Brethren could appear at these conferences; the few Brethren, who were come before and with the ordinary, forming as yet no regular constitution or congregation; and, therefore, like many of other religious parties, were only present at them as guests. In the mean time, the colonists, who were chosen by the Brethren to supply the places of the first inhabitants of *Pilgergrub*, but not accepted, (§ 92.) had been, with others, appointed as the first proper colony for Pennsylvania. They sailed from *London*, where they were formed into a regular congregation, in March 1742; and, after having been three times in danger of falling into the hands of Spanish privateers, arrived at Philadelphia, June the 7th, 1742, new stile. Their arrival was notified to the seventh conference, which was just then sitting. They were invited to it, and, with the Brethren and Sisters that were there before, in all an hundred and twenty, received by all the deputies into the fellowship of the, then so-called, *Congregation of God in the Spirit*, acknowledged and blessed as a distinct congregation. They then went to *Bethlehem*, where they received their proper regulation, June the 25th. These Brethren, after the example of the *Pilgrim-congregation* in Europe, were to endeavour to serve with the gospel all the religions in the country, wherever they should find entrance. To this end, they resolved, after the pattern of the first church at Jerusalem, to have all things common in their house-keeping, and not to turn the profits of the labour of their hands to their own use; but, being themselves provided with the necessaries, to apply the surplus to the education of children, the maintenance and

support of the ministers and schoolmasters, who served their congregations in the whole country, without any regular salary; and for the benefit of the missions among the Indians. This œconomy was carried on for twenty years; but, at length, by the farther increase of the place, on account of various unforeseen difficulties, obliged to be altered; when things were regulated there, as in the rest of the congregation-places, according to a resolution already taken in the life-time of the ordinary.

With regard to the colony at *Nazareth*, in particular, it met at first with hinderances in its settling from the Indians; who, as it was mentioned in § 98, lived on the land bought of the *Six Nations*, and claimed it as their property. Though the government, upon proper notice given them, commissioned the justice of the peace in that district to drive them away; and though the great council of the Indians, which had sold the land to government, commanded them to remove; yet the Brethren, unwilling to incense these savages against themselves, whom they wished to win by the gospel, upon their acknowledging they had done wrong, and offering to move away, gave them what they desired for their improvements.

§ 102.

THE Indians in *Canada* consist of many tribes, every one of which has its own language. The chief tribe of them is called, The *Iroquois*; but they stile themselves *Aquanuschioni*, that is, *Covenant-People*, since they consist of several nations united together. They were five at first, afterwards six, and now there are seven such nations, viz. the *Maquas* or *Mohocks*, *Oneyders*, *Onondagers*, *Senekers*, *Cayugers*, *Tuscarores*, and *Nanticocks*. They hold their covenant-day, or great council, commonly at *Onondago*, not far from lake *Ontario*. They live mostly by hunting, and do not like to live near the Europeans. They value themselves greatly on the supposed simplicity

simplicity of their manners, on their politics and liberty; and can hardly be content without war, in which they are exceedingly valiant and cruel, being used even to slay and devour some of their prisoners. They have reduced many Indian nations to subjection to them, and, among the rest, the former owners of Pennsylvania, called by the English, *Delawares*, as also the *Mahikanders*. These like better to live near the Europeans, and some of them maintain themselves, besides hunting, with selling various sorts of wooden ware. By means of their commerce with the Europeans, they learn many new vices, besides their old, and are on that account despised by the *Iroquois*, though they all are much addicted to drink, and plunge themselves into the utmost misery by the spirituous liquors imported by European traders.

Among the *Mahikanders*, *Christian Henry Rauch* had resided for some years as missionary; (§ 91.) and other Brethren were ready to go to his assistance. The ordinary also was willing to become acquainted with these nations, and went, the 24th of July 1742, over the Blue Mountains, to the *Delawares* at *Meniolagomekah* *. He and his company preached to them their Creator and Redeemer: and, though no fruit appeared at that time, yet, after some years, when a congregation of believers from among the Heathen took refuge to, and were settled in, their neighbourhood, most of them were converted and baptized.

The ordinary, on his return, met with the *Sachems*, or chiefs of the Six Nations, on their way home from the renewal of their covenant with the government of Pennsylvania. By *Conrad Weisser*, a justice of the peace, and regular

* When learned readers neither find such names as these in books of geography, nor can be informed of them by the present inhabitants of the country; they are to ascribe it to the Indian names of places, creeks or brooks, and the like, being generally lost, when Europeans take possession of, and inhabit, those places.

interpreter of government, he asked them, whether they had any objection to some of his Brethren living among them, not as traders, but as servants of God, who should learn their language, and, without fee or reward, make known to the Indians the great word of their redemption: and whether they would lay no hinderance in the way of those who should receive it? Conrad Weisser added of his own accord, “ This is the man, whom God has sent over the great water “ to whites and tawnys, to make his will known unto “ them.” The Indians, having hearkened to this proposal with great respect, entered into council upon it, and made the following reply to the ordinary, ‘ That his Brethren might ‘ go in and out among them without molestation, and should ‘ have all liberty to teach.’ As a token of friendship, they gave him a *Fathom of Wampum* *. This covenant, and the acquaintance with the *Six Nations*, have been often renewed since by deputations from the Brethren. In consequence of this, Brethren have, from time to time, lived in their chief town *Onondago*, learning their language, and, by this means, doing many good services to government. But the preaching of the gospel has hitherto not been attended with fruit among the *Iroquois*. The greatest benefit accruing from their friendship, is, that they lay no hinderance in the way of conversion of the Indian nations in subjection to them.

§ 103.

THE ordinary made his second journey to the Indians, in August 1742, to *Chekomekah*, a place of the *Mahikanders*, in the *Stiffik* mountains, on the borders of *Connecticut* in New England. Here it was properly, that, according to § 91, the missionary *Christian Henry Rauch* had, in great danger of

* *Wampum* is a sort of shells of various colours, by the different mixture of which they can again remember, after many years, the whole answer they gave at the time. On this account, such a *belt*, or *fathom*, is of the same value to them, as a written record is to us.

his life, preached the gospel with blessing. *Tschob*, one of the Indians, who had called him to be the preacher to their nation, and was afterwards baptized by the name of *John*, was, of a vile drunkard and frightful bear, who, in the first uneasiness of his heart, was going to shoot the missionary, become a meek lamb, and a bold witness of Jesus. A charming letter of his, in the *Buedingen-Collection*, as also the said *Conrad Weisser's* testimony of him and the Heathen-congregation at Chekomekah; together with a report and a diary from thence, cannot be read without emotion of heart. The three first-fruits of this nation were baptized at one of the afore-mentioned conferences, which was held at *Oly*, the 22d of February 1742, new stile, and called *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*; and their missionary was at the same time ordained. The ordinary, at his visitation, regulated this congregation better, and appointed *John* to be teacher and interpreter, (for he understood, as other Mahikanders of this district did, the Low Dutch language,) *Abraham* to be elder, *Isaac*, exhorter, and *Jacob*, servant. He provided them with more missionaries, advising them not to aim at a *net*, but a *bundle of the living*; that is, not to baptize a great many, or all that give assent to the Christian doctrine with their mouths; but such only whose hearts are really affected; and who give hopes of an entire and abiding conversion; to proceed still more slowly in admitting them to the holy communion; to gather the believing Indians from their dispersion among the Europeans, where they found no benefit for their hearts, but occasions of all sorts to seduction, and to settle them in a regular congregation-order; instructing them, indeed, faithfully out of the holy scriptures, but telling them nothing farther for opening the understanding, than their hearts were in a capacity to comprehend, and, through grace, to put in practice.

On this, and other journeys, the ordinary had to bear much opposition, occasioned by the calumnies of the enraged heads of the several religious parties. While he, agreeably
to

to the laws of New England, on his return from *Chekomekah*, rested on a Sunday at *Sopus*, he and his daughter were put under arrest, because he made an hymn, and his daughter copied it, during that time; and each of them were, for writing on a Sunday, fined six shillings as Sabbath-breakers; for which, however, the laws were not so much to be blamed, as the malicious application of, and forcing, their meaning.

§ 104.

THE third journey among the Indians, upon which he set out the 24th of September, and from which he returned in the beginning of November, was through untrodden paths, over steep and dangerous mountains, through brooks and great rivers, which have neither bridges nor ferries, and through thick woods and close underwood, abounding with wild beasts and serpents *, first to *Schomokin*, to *Schikellimi*, the *Sachem*, or chief, of the *Oneyders*. The ordinary, at entering into the covenant with the Indian chiefs, thought he saw something in this man, which gave him hope to be of use to his soul by private conversation, at least, to gain in him a friend and promoter of the mission. Nor was he disappointed in his hope. He continued a friend of the Brethren, visited them, and experienced, especially in his last days, a lively impression of the gospel in his heart. When he was spoken to concerning baptism, he said, he had been baptized in his infancy. The Brethren then directed him to Jesus, into whom he had been baptized; and soon after he died in the arms of a Brother. We were informed afterwards, that he was born of European parents in French Canada, taken prisoner, when a child of two years old, and brought up among the Indians. He was so much altered by this way of life, that he was hardly to be distinguished from other savages.

* Since the ordinary made this journey, the country is become much more populous, and consequently the roads are much more convenient for travellers.

From hence the ordinary travelled farther westwards to *Osttonwakin*, an Indian town, where he found some Europeans, several of whom, as captives, others, as deserters, were come among the Indians, and grown savage. He then went on north-eastwards to the plain *Skehantowa*, or *Wajomik*, on the *Susquehannah*. The Iroquois had removed the *Schawanos* hither, a fierce nation from *Florida*, whom they had conquered. These, the *Delawares*, and the *Munfys*, are principally the savages, who in the last Indian war murdered so many Europeans on the frontiers of *Pennsylvania* and *Maryland*, and laid waste their habitations. The ordinary staid twenty days in these parts, which appeared to him, preferably to others, convenient for building a town of believing Indians. For he would have been glad to have removed them from the dangerous intercourse with the Europeans, living together, and settled in the country of the Iroquois. The *Schawanos* conceived a jealousy on account of his long stay there, and were determined to murder him and his company. But it was seasonably discovered and prevented by his interpreter, the aforesaid *Conrad Weisser*, who, in the interval, had been obliged to go to *Pennsylvania*, and returned just in the right time. These Indians moved afterwards to the *Ohio*: and now Brethren live in their neighbourhood, and preach the gospel. About four hundred and eighty miles from *Wajomik* on the *Susquehannah*, a Heathen-congregation, after many vicissitudes, is now established; as we shall see in the sequel. (See more of these journeys in *Spangenberg's Apologetical Declaration*, *Quest.* 124, 125. p. 137.)

§ 105.

THE ordinary, therefore, having in *Pennsylvania* (1.) publicly preached the gospel in many places to the Lutherans, as also to the Reformed; (2.) in the aforesaid conferences, assisted the religions in general, for removing all farther cause, in sincere people, of separating from them, and of running from
one

one party to another ; (3.) made all possible amendment in the smaller religious parties ; (4.) established a *Congregation of God in the Spirit*, or, an union of the children of God in divers parties ; (5.) gathered and regulated small congregations in the different religions, and provided them with regular teachers ; (6.) appointed itinerant preachers at his and the Brethren's expence ; (7.) settled a congregation of the Brethren at *Bethlehem*, and made preparation for the colony at *Nazareth* ; (8.) visited the mission among the Heathen, and done many things for the advantage of it : and having, likewise, conferred with some missionaries from *St. Thomas*, provided for their support, and dispatched new Brethren thither, as also to *Surinam* ; he, after delivering, the 9th of January 1743, a farewell-discourse at Philadelphia to all his fellow-labourers, met together out of the country, set out, by way of New York, on his return to Europe.

In the interval, the work of the Lord here had proceeded in blessing, and was greatly increased. But, at the same time, many things had been undertaken, which, according to his principles, were not to his satisfaction. He himself, in his *Natural Reflections*, writes thus concerning them : “ When
 “ I returned from America,—the Moravian Brethren,
 “ partly without my knowledge, and partly against my
 “ mind, had, in a certain degree, obtained a civil state in
 “ the county of *Ysenburg* ; an enlarged church-liberty, as
 “ in all the *Prussian* dominions, so particularly in *Silesia* ;
 “ several considerable congregations in *England* ; and the
 “ predicament of the evangelical Moravian church, with
 “ the States-general in *Holland* ; and had even been misled,
 “ upon hopes which were entirely groundless, to purchase
 “ a place for a settlement in the duchy of *Saxe-Gotha*.—
 “ I cannot deny, but I felt more inclination, at that time,
 “ to preach repentance to my people, than to share in their
 “ glory ; and I have done so faithfully.” So far the words
 of the ordinary. He could obtain in America but an imperfect knowledge of the wrong proceedings of the Brethren in
Livonia,

Livonia, and the disturbances arising from thence, as well as of the great accession of many awakened and, in part, merely curious people, some of whom were induced by the controversial writings, and some by the flourishing state of the congregation, but others forced by persecution in their places of abode, to take refuge in the congregations of the Brethren. He, therefore, found it needful to transmit to the elders-conference at *Marienborn* a protest, signed on the 10th of November 1742, against several undertakings; and hastened the more with his departure for Europe.

I will relate, as briefly as possible, without concealing what was done amiss, the chief alterations, which, in not much more than the space of a year, under great reproach, had been undertaken, in so many places, with almost inconceivable success and great blessing, though in much weakness, and, in part, to the real displeasure of the ordinary; but will also previously observe, that the ordinary, in many things, was not rightly informed; that he, in other things, afterwards acknowledged the hand of the Lord; but in many points from henceforth dissented from many of his fellow-labourers, especially in regard of the method; but, nevertheless, was at all times faithfully concerned for them.

§ 106.

ON the 17th of February 1743 he arrived in *England*, with a company of twenty persons, having been in great danger in a storm on the English coast. It has been already mentioned in § 81, that the Brethren here had become acquainted with many awakened souls, and had been intreated by them, and by some ministers, to take them under their care. In the year 1742, on the 10th of November, by the advice of the ordinary, a more particular regulation was made among them at *London*. Yet they were not to look upon themselves as a Moravian Brethren's congregation; but as societies in the church of England, in union with the Brethren.

Brethren. But being greatly disturbed at their meetings by frequent mobs, and, therefore, taking out a *licence* for their chapels and meeting-houses, in which they must be called by a particular religious denomination ; they called themselves, *Moravian Brethren*. The ordinary sent a protest against this from America, dated November the 19th, to be deposited by the Brethren in the archives of the archbishop at *Lambeth*. But not much notice was taken of it ; nor could he do any thing more in the affair. He, however, rejoiced at the great blessing in England, and the fine prospect of a still greater harvest. *Thomas Erskine*, Esq; a Scotch gentleman, and member of parliament, inviting the Brethren, in the name of some Presbyterian ministers, to *Scotland*, a Brother was sent thither from the seminary, who staid there for some time.

From *London* the ordinary went to *Yorkshire*, into the parts about *Leeds* and *Halifax*, where, since the year 1739; several Brethren, with the Rev. *Benjamin Ingham*, preached the gospel to many thousand souls. In the year 1742, twelve hundred persons, who had hitherto been in societies under his ministry, had, by his advice, committed themselves to the care of the Brethren, promising withal to continue in the church of England. The Brethren, who had the care of them, and preached in many places, lived then at *Smith-House*. Many having requested to be received into the Brethren's congregation, which could not well be refused to such as did not belong to the church of England, or had before separated from it; the ordinary advised them to take a place near *Pudsey*, where the Brethren from Germany, with such of the English as were desirous of living with them, might build a particular congregation-place.

On his return to London, he visited some doctors of divinity at *Cambridge*, as also the Brethren's school, or children's economy, at *Broadloaks* in *Essex*. At *London* he visited the archbishop *John Potter*, primate of all England, who still retained his good disposition towards the Brethren,

and entreated them to continue in the old simplicity, and not to be disturbed in it by the learned, either without or within their own circle. The ordinary also deposited in the archiepiscopal library at *Lambeth*, the original writings concerning the correspondence with the Greek church. Among others, he got at London some acquaintance with the eminent Methodist minister, *George Whitefield*, who again sought connexion with the Brethren. When the ordinary left England, he wrote a cordial but serious letter to him, touching several things which had fallen under his notice. He also published a declaration why the congregations and societies of the Brethren were not to be looked upon as being the same with Mr. *Wesley's* institutions.

Moreover, the ordinary found at London a *Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel*, or a company of Brethren and friends, who, according to the exhortation of the Apostle *John*, in his third Epistle, ver. 5 to 8, had agreed to receive in love the Brethren going among the Heathen, who were often obliged to wait some time for an opportunity, to entertain them, to care for their passage, to provide them with necessaries on the way, and to forward their letters and accounts. They met once a month, in order to read the accounts come to hand; and made a collection at this opportunity for defraying the expences, which they lodged in the hands of a committee, who met every week to consult the benefit of the missions.

§ 107.

In the beginning of April the ordinary arrived in *Holland*. At *Amsterdam* he found the little flock of souls united with the Brethren, notwithstanding all reproach and disturbance, in an happy way, and the ministers among them in great blessing. The colony at *Heerendyk*, indeed, had not increased much, but was as a light to the whole country. Whosoever came thither (and the calumnies often induced many curious people

people to resort thither) had an opportunity of seeing and hearing themselves the direct contrary to the reports circulated concerning them, by the doctrine, life and conversation of the Brethren. This proved an inducement to many, whose hearts were affected on the occasion, to seek the fellowship of the Brethren at Amsterdam.

At the *Hague* the ordinary found the deputy of the Brethren, *Abraham de Gersdorf*; who, in order to procure rest for the oppressed missions in the *West Indies*, and to obtain leave for the restoration of the missions at the *Cape* and in *Ceylon*, had solicited the States general for church-liberty, in behalf of the Protestant Moravian church, in the *United Provinces*. The latter seemed to the ordinary unnecessary and superfluous. The examination of the doctrine and constitution of the Protestant Moravian church being by the States general referred to a committee, he laid before them the state of the case, and what he and the Brethren properly intended in this affair. It remains however, to this day, by the before-mentioned gracious resolution of the States general; and the Brethren have hitherto led in the Dutch dominions a quiet and peaceable life under their dear magistrates.

At Amsterdam he found the bishops and elders of the church of the Brethren waiting for him. They laid before him what had been done to that time in every respect, together with their motives and proceedings. He declared, in several matters, his scruples and dissent; but was gladly convinced in many points of the propriety of their proceedings.

In their company he found his eldest son, *Christian Renatus*, in a much more pleasing state than he had left him at his departure, and could have expected. He resolved, from henceforth, to make use of him in the affairs of the kingdom of God committed to him. He also found here *Balthasar Frederic*, count of *Promnitz*, of *Halbau*, &c. who, in his ab-

fence, had been induced, by reports of various kinds, to seek acquaintance with the Brethren, and, his heart having been entirely changed by the grace of God, had desired and obtained admission into the congregation of the Brethren; upon which he devoted himself to the service of the Brethren's church.

§ 108.

ABOUT the end of April the ordinary came to *Wetteravia*, and arrived at *Herrnhaag*, just as the congregation was assembled for a congregation-day. He caused great joy by a discourse and relation of his travels and labours. In this district every thing was greatly altered. *Marienborn* was the seat of the Moravian bishops, and the chapel in the palace was granted to the Brethren for public worship. *Ronneburg* had been rented of the count of *Ysenburg Waechtersbach*, and there was a small congregation here. The first contract concerning *Herrnhaag* of 1738, was cancelled, and a new contract of January the 1st, 1743, was made in its stead, signed by the count of *Ysenburg Buedingen* and his three sons. In this deed the Moravian Brethren's church was acknowledged as an orthodox Protestant congregation, from a variety of testimonies, from their own writings, and from their doctrine and practice to that time, sufficiently tried; and had obtained the necessary immunities. But that which gave the ordinary most uneasiness in this affair, was, that the Brethren had, at the same time, procured a loan for the count of *Buedingen*. He had, some years ago, promised the count of *Ysenburg Meerholz*, by way of gratitude for his ready reception of the Brethren at *Marienborn*, to procure him in *Holland* a loan upon *Marienborn*. But the regency at *Buedingen* had persuaded the Brethren to lend them the half of it, upon a mortgage of the castle of *Leustadt* and other estates. In order to induce the creditor in *Holland* the more easily to it, certain privileges and exemptions were allowed him

him and his agents by the regency in the mortgage-deed; which afterwards, when the government came into the hands of another director, who in all things followed the advice of an illustrious adversary of the ordinary, were attended with a variety of grievous consequences, in which the ordinary was also involved by degrees. The mortgage was redeemed; but the enmity against the ordinary increased, and fell at last upon the inhabitants of *Herrnhaag*. The privilege, obtained in 1743, terminated in this, that in 1750 this congregation, which they now endeavoured to charge with being an erroneous sect, and not to be tolerated, was compelled to emigrate; as we shall see in its place.

Many difficulties also occurred with respect to *Marienborn*, which were so far compromised by the ordinary, that his lady, to the great satisfaction of the house of *Meerholz*, had the mortgage assigned to her by the creditor in Holland. Here the ordinary fixed again his residence, served his family and the congregations at *Herrnhaag* and *Ronneburg* alternately with the gospel, and took in particular a faithful care of the seminary at *Marienborn*, which had greatly increased in his absence.

§ 109.

FROM the 1st to the 12th of July, a Synod was held at *Hirschberg* in *Vogtland*, in which, among other points, the state of the congregations in the territories of *Gotha* and *Brandenburg* was taken into consideration. With regard to the former, the case was this. Since a few years, great awakenings had partly arisen, and partly continued, through the service of the Brethren, in *Thuringia* and *Franconia*; and here and there little flocks were gathered, and some of them regulated according to the platform of the congregations. But since such regulations in towns and villages, in imitation of settled congregations, were abrogated at the synod at *Eberisdorf*, in 1739, according to § 88; and many souls

were either oppressed in their places of abode, or desirous to be better cared for, and to enjoy more fellowship, on which account they wished to move to the congregation-places of the Brethren, the too great increase of which was not thought expedient; the Brethren had considered about providing a place for them, where they might settle, and form a congregation under the inspection of the Brethren. In this view the count of *Promnitz* bought the village *New Dietendorf*, not far from *Gotha*, which was formerly built by count *Gottor* for foreign manufacturers, but now almost deserted. The inclination of most of the Brethren was at that time, to plant congregations according to the Moravian church-constitution. Therefore, church-liberty was also solicited for in *Gotha*. But here the Brethren met with a refusal. The ordinary, who, as soon as he heard of this undertaking of the Brethren, presently saw, that it would not be practicable, being inconsistent with the constitution of church and state in the duchy of *Gotha*, wrote from *Amsterdam*, on the 6th of April, a letter to the duke, which is inserted in the *Buedingen Collection*, (Vol. III. p. 571.) in which he declared, that he could not consent to a Moravian, but would heartily concur in settling a Lutheran, Brethren's congregation in the territories of *Gotha*, after the example of *Herrnhut*; and that he would promote it, if it could be effected upon reasonable terms. In the mean while, those Brethren, who lived in that neighbourhood for the service of the dispersed Brethren and Sisters in *Thuringia*, had removed to this new place in the beginning of the year 1743. But as difficulties of importance arose, they withdrew from hence, some few excepted, who staid to take care of the estate, in May, and went to *Marienborn* and *Herrnhaag*. Since this first evacuating of the place, a number of awakened people out of that district gathered there together by degrees. But they were again obliged to leave this place in 1748, until

circum-

circumstances should alter ; which, as we shall see hereafter, came to pass.

§. 110.

IN the extensive states of his *Prussian* majesty were here and there great awakenings, which the Brethren, with others, were the means of keeping alive. The Moravian Brethren, at the time of their emigration, were, on their way through *Silesia*, become acquainted with many sincere souls. Among others, a new life had taken place among the so-called *Praying Children* of 1706, now grown up. *Silesia* abounded with descendents of the ancient Bohemian Brethren, who had retired hither over the mountains out of Bohemia and Moravia, and whom God had graciously visited. The souls concerned for their salvation, were from time to time visited in stillness by Brethren from Herrnhut. *Ernest Julius de Seidlitz*, an old acquaintance of the ordinary, took faithfully care of them, and preached the gospel to them at private meetings in his mansion-house in *Upper Peilau*, near *Reichenbach*, as he had done before at *Schoenbrunn* ; on which account he, in 1738 *, incurred a severe imprisonment, from which he was not delivered, till the Prussian troops marched into the country at the end of the year 1740. This opportunity the Brethren made use of to visit the awakened in all parts. But though, at the cession of the country to the king of Prussia, a general liberty of conscience, and privileges were granted for erecting Protestant places of worship ; yet, the Brethren being apprehensive of exposing themselves, now even more than before, to oppression and encroachments, so as formerly the ministers at *Teschen* and other places had found it by experience from their colleagues and men of their own religion ; they not only solicited for

* At that time this country was under the house of Austria. (The Editor.)

ecclesiastical and religious liberty, which, as in all the king's dominions, so in particular in Silesia, was granted them on the 25th of December 1742, in such a manner, that, in spiritual and ecclesiastical affairs, they were to be subordinate to no consistory, but solely and alone to their bishops, under his majesty's supreme dominion and protection; but they also supplicated for permission, like all other Protestants, to build places of worship, which they obtained from time to time at *Groß Krausche, Burau, Peterfwalde, Roefnitz, and Upper Peilau.*

The ordinary declared to the Brethren, especially at the synod at Hirschberg, that he looked upon it as unnecessary and superfluous, to begin now to seek church-liberty in the dominions of the house of Brandenburg; since it was certain that the Brethren had at all times enjoyed the particular protection of that electoral house, and, until 1741, had the dean of the king's chapel for their bishop; the ordinary himself, after previous examination and approbation, having been consecrated a bishop, and publicly preached the gospel at Berlin. He was afraid the adversaries might turn this particular privilege to the disadvantage of the Brethren, and, on that very account, endeavour to lay them under restrictions, as a distinct constitution, yea, to cut them off entirely from the communion of the Lutheran church. It was also quite contrary to his constant way of thinking and rule of conduct, that the Brethren had accepted of this liberty, without an examination of their doctrine and constitution, and without again plainly declaring themselves adherents to the Augustan confession.

Upon this, the Brethren requested him to go himself to *Berlin*, in order to lead the affair into its proper channel with the king's ministers. On the 21st of July 1743 he arrived

arrived there, and immediately presented a memorial to the king, in which he expressed the above-mentioned and some other scruples; requested an examination of the Brethren as to their doctrine and practice, and that a stop might be put to the charges of heresy, and other impudent calumnies against the Brethren. The synod also made a representation, nearly of the same import. As to the examination, after the Royal word was once given, this was esteemed no longer necessary; and, from the recorded declarations of the Brethren for the Augustan confession, and the conferences with the king's ministers, it was again declared, *That the Brethren, as to their doctrine, avow the Augustan confession, and, therefore, so far, cannot but be looked upon as of the same faith.* The king's ministers endeavoured, by a notification to the *Corpus Evangelicorum** at the Diet of the Empire, to put a stop to the charges of heresy. The minister of state, *De Cocceji*, delivered his sentiments on the subject, and showed, that the Brethren had been examined in the year 1737, and found to be adherents to the Augustan confession; that their difference from other Protestants consisted only in their having a particular church-discipline, bishops, and their own synod, and providing for their Brethren, to prevent their being chargeable to others. The ordinary made some observations upon it, and went on the 8th of August to Silesia, and, towards the end of the year, to Livonia; as we shall soon see hereafter.

In the mean while, the deputies of the Brethren proceeded in their negotiations; and, in the year 1745, the ordinary came again to Berlin, to confer with the king's ministers, and then left the matter again to the deputies of the Brethren, whose negotiations, though not according to the proper wish of the ordinary, ended in the general concession, which was renewed May the 7th, 1746.

* The *Corpus Evangelicorum* are the representatives of the Protestant states at the diet at *Ratisbon*. (The Editor.)

§ III.

As to the requested places of worship, no more than three of them, which the king had allowed by special grants, were completed. That at *Gross Krausche*, near Bunzlau, was the first, granted January the 5th, 1743. That at *Upper Peilau*, not far from Reichenbach, was the second, granted on the 27th of July the same year. Near these places of worship, some Brethren out of those parts, together with other colonists out of distant congregations and countries, settled, and were regulated as proper congregations of the church-constitution of the Moravian Brethren; to which also the Brethren out of the circumjacent parts were joined. The former congregation-place was called *Gnadenberg*, and the latter, *Gnadenfrey*. As the king particularly desired a settlement near *Newsalz* on the *Oder*; so a place of worship was likewise built there, and a colony of foreign Brethren established, for which a special grant was obtained on the 13th of June, 1743. In pursuance of the king's order, one of the bishops of the Brethren was to reside in Silesia. *Polycarp Mueller* was appointed for this purpose, who took part of the *Seminary* and *Pædagogium* (academy) along with him thither. He lived with them at first in the mansion-house in *Lower Peilau*, and then at *Urschkau*, not far from *Newsalz*, till the building of this colony was finished; and augmented the *pædagogium* with the children of some noblemen, and other young people of this and the adjacent countries. After his death, in the year 1747, the *pædagogium* removed to *Newsalz*, and was transplanted again from thence to the mansion-house in *Lower Peilau*. His successor, bishop *John George Waiblinger*, lived at *Gnadenberg*.

Many difficulties were raised against the grant of a place of worship at *Peterswalde*, by count *Promnitz* of Sorau, who intended to build there a Lutheran place of worship. The
ordinary

ordinary being unwilling to set up altar against altar, and the Brethren there living near Gnadenfrey; the synod itself requested of the king to suspend this grant for the present, which was also done.

The Brethren at *Roesnitz* in Upper Silesia, to whom also some Bohemian refugees and other Brethren in those parts were joined, had likewise obtained a grant, dated July the 25th, 1743, for a place of worship; in consequence of which, they got a minister of the Brethren's congregation. But this minister being oppressed by the other inhabitants, they obtained from the king a particular assurance of their liberty. But so many difficulties were made by the other inhabitants, that the building of this place of worship did not take place. Upon this, the Brethren from Moravia, who had again begun to emigrate in great numbers, resorted, some to Gnadenfrey, some to other countries; and the prospect of a colony of foreign Protestants vanished entirely.

The case was the same with an intended colony at *Montmirail* in the principality of *Neuchâtel*. Some Brethren in the German and French cantons of Switzerland, especially in *Geneva*, wished to settle there. They had been informed, that many Waldenses of the valleys of Piedmont, as also Reformed of France, would join them*. They, seeking to profit by the church-liberty which the king had granted the Brethren in all his dominions, sent their deputies to Berlin in 1742, and obtained the Royal consent, and a mandate to the governor.

Upon this Royal grant, they began to build in *Montmirail*. But the classis of *Neuchâtel* making objections to it, they were obliged to desist. Some of them removed

* One of the deputies, after a fruitless attempt in 1744, made the next year a visit in the valleys of the Waldenses, by way of *Genoa*, *Turin*, and *Susa*, and returned in great danger over the mountains covered with snow, without being discovered by the watch, through *France* to *Switzerland*.

to *Herrnhaag*, and, since 1750, from thence to *New Wied*; and the hopes of a colony of Waldenses failed.

The Brethren at *Stettin*, and in that country, (*Prussian Pomerania*) were willing to put such a construction upon the church-liberty, that they were entitled by it, as Moravian Brethren to have their separate religious worship. They had, even without their seeking, obtained leave for it. For, being accused of having private meetings, which were in general prohibited, an answer followed from Berlin, that the Moravian Brethren could not be hindered from meeting together in an house, as long as they had no church. Upon their repeated request, though contrary to the mind of the ordinary and of many Brethren, a congregation-regulation was made among them in 1744, and *John Adam Schmidt*, who had before been in office, as a Lutheran minister, was given them as their minister. They obtained, in the year 1744, according to their desire, a certificate from the congregation of the Brethren, that they should be looked upon as members of the Moravian church, until their real state should be more particularly examined into, and known: upon which they received a Royal confirmation of the free exercise of their religion, until farther orders. Yea, the king's school-house in the *Laßladie*, which formerly belonged to the Rev. Mr. *Schinmayer*, was sold to them by the consistory for a place of worship. But so many disturbances arose on this account, that, in 1746, the place of worship was shut up. At length, they were persuaded by the Brethren to sell this house again, to meet in stillness, and by degrees (though it cost much trouble for some years) to return to the Lutheran church and constitution.

§ 112.

AT the ordinary's first coming to Berlin in 1743, in order to confer with the king's ministers concerning the Silesian church-affair, his aim was, to maintain the Brethren in Silesia,

Silesia, conformably to the *Opinion* of *Tuebingen*, in connexion with the Lutheran church-constitution: and, in some measure, to make the Brethren's congregations in Silesia again subordinate to the consistories, from which, as has been said above, they were exempted, and left to their own bishops. His intention, indeed, was, that they should retain their own regulation and church-discipline, and the right to call their own ministers; but these should present themselves to the Lutheran consistory for examination, subscribe the Augustan confession, and be under the direction of the consistory. He, first of all, conferred with a certain great minister on this head, with whom he deliberated upon the whole affair of the Brethren in Silesia: but he advised him against it, for several important reasons. Notwithstanding this, he kept to his purpose, and, after his return, in the year 1744, from Livonia to Silesia, sent, at different times, a deputy to the inspectors * *Burg* at *Breslau*, and *Minor* at *Landsbut*, who conferred with them upon the affair, and received some hopes, that the regulation, so as he desired it, would take effect. The ordinary then entered into a correspondence with the former, and laid a plan of this affair before the synod at Marienborn in 1744. The Brethren, indeed, showed no inclination for it, because both the continuing controversial writings, and the opinion of the aforesaid minister of state, promised them no great benefit from it; and those Brethren who were natives of Moravia, were of opinion, that their Brethren in Silesia, as descendents of Bohemian refugees, belonged to their church-inspection. But yet they submitted to a negotiation with the Silesian divines, in order to avoid the appearance of a schism. But since these divines laid Dr. *Baumgarten's* *Opinion* about the question, "Whether the Brethren

* An ecclesiastical inspector in the Lutheran church is a clergyman, under whose inspection are all the clergy of a certain district, and is as much as a diocesan. (The Editor.)

“ought to be reckoned to the *Lutheran* church?” which he answers in the negative *, as the foundation, and therefore required so much of the Brethren in Silesia, that they had no other way left for an union, but to consider the church of the Brethren as erroneous, and to renounce all communion with the same; the ordinary was obliged, to his grief, to lay aside his well-meant and salutary design; to let every thing remain agreeable to the general Royal grant once obtained, and to look upon, and treat, the congregations in Silesia, as congregations of the Moravian Brethren.

§ 113.

THE ordinary found likewise at Berlin business to transact in the affairs of the *Bohemian Brethren*. He had, till now, interfered very little, or not at all, in it, being deterred from it by the disturbances of the Bohemians in Saxony in 1732, (§ 38 40.) and by the errors in which he found them entangled in 1738 at Berlin. The *Bohemians* of *Gerlachshheim* were also, most of them, departed from their good orders, described § 44, and thus some were fallen asleep, which was occasioned partly by these disturbances and errors; partly by separating, some of them settling in *Ruehsdorf*, while others lived scattered at Berlin among the rest of the Bohemians; partly by the cares of this life. Yet still some of

* This *Opinion* was occasioned by a clergyman of Westphalia, who wanted to render another clergyman suspected, who had received a student from the Brethren, as tutor, and assistant in preaching. Though the Brethren would not answer to all that was written against them, yet they could not leave this writing unanswered, it being so directly contrary to the well-known *Opinion* of the theological faculty of *Tuebingen*, of 1732. (§ 47.) They showed the groundlessness of it in *Siegfried's Consideration of Dr. Baumgarten's Opinion*, and proved clearly and incontestably, that the congregations of the Brethren maintain the same doctrine with other true adherents to the Augustan confession, and ought not to be excluded by them on account of a different church-discipline and usages.

them

them never failed to visit at *Herrnhut*, time after time, and were also visited and encouraged by Brethren passing that way. About the year 1740 a new emotion arose among the Bohemians at *Dresden*, *Zittau*, *Gebhardtsdorf*, and in other places. They came frequently to *Herrnhut* on visits, and conversed with the Brethren concerning more connexion both with each other and the congregation of the Brethren. Some of them, in 1741, sought out their countrymen at Berlin. “ They showed them * the insufficiency of mere
 “ religious exercises, the danger of an attachment to men,
 “ and the sectarism and schism springing from it, and the
 “ like ; directing them to the chief point, the remission of
 “ sins through faith in Jesus, and the sanctification and prefer-
 “ vation of soul and body, flowing from his merits, &c.—
 “ This was the matter, which found place in us ; it being
 “ the same as Mr. *Schulz* had continually preached to us.
 “ Only it became to us a customary thing, and consisted,
 “ as to the greatest part, more in knowledge, than in expe-
 “ rience,” &c.

The Bohemian Brethren were greatly enlivened by this visit of their countrymen, and at the same time took occasion to restore the regulations for the edification of their souls, which, till now, had been interrupted. But capable persons were wanting, to rule over them with grace and wisdom ; as their subsequent minister *Zacharias Gelinek*, or *Hirschel*, writes in his *Historical Account*. This gave rise to various divisions, nor did *Schulz* himself see any possibility of uniting them. They, therefore, determined to request the advice and assistance of the congregation at *Herrnhut*, with whom they formerly had been in connexion at *Gerlachsheim*, and dispatched two Brethren, *George Pakosta* and *Nicholas Felix*, with a petition to them.

* So it is said in the *Declaration* of the members of the court of justice at *Rueksdorf*, mentioned in § 4 ; ; with which agrees the *Account* given in the *Life* of their minister *Augustin Schulz*.

These found deputies there from the rest of the Bohemians in Saxony, who requested the congregation to receive them and their Brethren into their fellowship, and either to supply them with labourers in their places of abode, or to give them leave to move to Herrnhut. But neither the one nor the other could or durst be done in the situation of things at that time. However, as they asked advice, in pursuance of a right they claimed to the Unity of the Brethren, as descendents of the Bohemian Brethren, they were directed to the conference of the bishops of the Moravian Brethren at *Marienborn*. In consequence of this, they joined in dispatching thither three deputies, *Thomas* and *Neumann* from *Zittau*, and *Peschina* from *Dresden*. These arrived at *Herrnhaag*, on the 17th of March 1742, with the remarkable word of the day, *They shall be my people, and I will be their God, in truth and in righteousness.* Zech. viii. 8. Here they declared their desire, and, to the joy of all their Brethren, received for answer, that, as soon as it was practicable, some labourers should be sent to the Brethren at Berlin and Ruekshdorf, as assistants of their minister. But those in the Saxon territories, who were desirous of living in a congregation of the Brethren, were advised to accept of an offer of *Sigismund Augustus de Gersdorf*, to settle a particular colony upon his estate *Trebus*, in the district of *Goerlitz*; that thus, without molestation and restriction, they might enjoy the care of the Brethren. August the 8th 1742, this place, which was called *Niesky*, was begun to be built. The daily word was again remarkable: *The Lord did not set his love upon you, nor choose you, because ye were more in number than any people; for ye were the fewest of all people: but because the Lord loved you.* Deut. vii. 78. with the collect,

“ But since his kind paternal eyes delight
 “ To keep the *lowly** in their gracious sight:
 “ We to his care have a most special right.”

* The Bohemian Word *Njsky* signifies *Lowly*.

§ 114.

WITH respect to the *Bohemian Brethren* at *Berlin* and *Rueksdorf* in particular, no labourers were at first found for them; and *Zacharias Hirschel*, a native of *Bohemia*, declined the call for the present, being intent upon going among the *Calmucs*; as we shall see hereafter. But the *Bohemians* continued their request for labourers, until the synod in the year 1744, when *Nicholas Andrew Jäschke*, from *Moravia*, accepted a call to them. He came to *Berlin* on the 6th of *October*, and was so successful as to unite the several parties among them, and to reconcile those that had been at variance with their minister *Schulz*, unto him. With respect to their regulations, which they had partly brought with them from *Gerlachshheim* and maintained hitherto, and partly renewed since 1741; he made no considerable alterations. They made use of the public ministry of the *Rev. Mr. Schulz*, and continued, with his approbation, and under his direction, their private meetings and bands, and *Jäschke* gave him a due account of the state of the souls.

When the ordinary in 1745 came the second time to *Berlin*, on account of the *Silesian* affair, both the minister and the labourers of the *Bohemian Brethren* conferred with him concerning a closer union with the church of the *Brethren*, and participation of their church-privileges. But, not being sufficiently informed of their origin, nor enough distinguishing them from the other *Bohemians*, he was still scrupulous (according to his own expression, in his *Natural Reflections*, p. 273,) to consider them as a part of the *Unity*, properly belonging to the church of the *Brethren*; and to commit them to the inspection of the bishops. He rather advised them to adhere to the *Lutheran* constitution, and to the ministry of the *Rev. Mr. Schulz*, which had been so greatly blessed to them, and after his death to look out for another *Lutheran* minister, in whom they could place confi-

dence. However, he approved of it, that such as could be acknowledged worthy communicants, might go together, on a day, when there was no other communion, to the Lord's supper in the hospital-church of St. Gertrude, to which the Rev. Mr. Schulz had been called some years ago. The Brethren from among the Germans showed a desire to receive the holy communion at the same time with the Bohemian Brethren. Schulz was scrupulous about it, and made enquiry of the king, "Whether he might receive the Moravian Brethren, who offered to communicate with him?" May the 14th 1746 he received this answer, 'That he might, without scruple, receive such as were come from other countries; but as to the natives, who were hitherto joined to other churches, they must produce the usual certificate of their dismissal from their former parish-minister.' Thus, from Michaelmas 1746, he administered the Lord's supper in the church of St. Gertrude to the Bohemian and German Brethren, and continued so to do without interruption to his end, when another regulation was agreed upon.

§ 115.

THE ordinary having, in the year 1743, at Berlin, brought the church-affair of the Brethren in Silesia into a proper channel, and an order being given to the chief departments of the government by a Royal rescript, to further the execution of it; he went to Silesia, and took his residence at *Burau*, a place belonging to count *Promnitz*, mentioned § 107. This nobleman intended to establish a Brethren's congregation there. He set apart the hall of his mansion-house for a place of worship, which he called *Gnadek*, and made a beginning of building some houses for colonists, whom he was to receive from the Brethren's congregations, not settled in Saxony. But departing this life on the 2d of February 1744, and various difficulties arising afterwards concerning the colony, it was put a stop to, and at last quite dropped.

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Here the ordinary was visited by many Brethren from Herrnhut, with whom he conferred about the welfare of that congregation. He then, taking a journey through Silesia, viewed the district of *Neusalz*, where the king wished to have a colony of the Brethren; went from thence to *Groß Krausche* and *Peilau*, and farther to *Upper Silesia*, in order to inform himself of the circumstances there, especially concerning *Räsfütz*.

After this visit in Silesia, he set out, in November 1743, on his journey to *Livonia*: upon which, at *Breslaw*, on the 21st of November, a solemn *Vocation* was given him by the Brethren, to be the *Servant of the Protestant Moravian Church*, invested with full power.

The state of the case was this. The ordinary had, even before his return from America, in writing, and afterwards frequently by word of mouth, made his objections to several undertakings of the Brethren, which made a great show; and had sometimes declared, that he would rather chuse to be released from his office and ministry in the church of the Brethren, than suffer things to be done, which he could not approve of. This, the Brethren neither could nor would comply with. Though they could not see that, in his absence, any thing had been done in the church of the Brethren, as to essentials, which was repugnant to their fundamental plan; yet they acknowledged that, in some particulars, they had erred in the way and method. They, therefore, desired him to take the affairs in his hand anew, and conduct them into the right channel. This he acquiesced in, as we have seen hitherto. But as he still continued to speak of laying down his office and ministry, the labourers of the church of the Brethren then present in Silesia, being desirous of preventing it, offered a new commission to him, in regard of the affairs of the Brethren's church, which, as he himself declared, chiefly consisted in this, that, without his knowledge, no negotiation should be carried on with those out of their circle, in the name of the church of the Brethren, nor

any thing altered in the inward constitution of the congregation.

But he did not signify his acceptance of this full power, till after his return from Livonia, in the autumn of the year following; having declared his mind in an ample deduction sent to the bishops, elders, and ministers of the church of the Brethren, concerning the late and present proceedings of the Unity, and made his remarks upon several things. To this he received an extensive answer. These two writings, which are inserted in *The present Form of the Cross's Kingdom of Jesus*, (p. 217 to 232, and p. 241 to 248.) afford the best illustration both of the inward state of the Brethren's congregations at that time, and of their outward situation.

§ 116.

As to *Livonia**, whither the ordinary went in November, the great and blessed work of God in the *Lettonian* and *Esthonian*

* *Livonia* is a province under the Russian empire, and contains two nations, who speak two different languages. Though the established religion in Russia is the Greek, yet the Lutheran is not only tolerated, but is the established religion in Livonia. When this country, i. e. Lettonia and Esthonia, was conquered from the king of Sweden, and ceded by him to Russia, several civil and ecclesiastical privileges were granted to the gentry and citizens established there; these are chiefly of German or Swedish extraction. The natives are in a state of vassalage, not much short of positive slavery, and are not allowed, in any wise, the privileges of citizens. The original Lettonians, though despised by, and in subjection to, the German and Swedish lords and citizens, yet look upon the Esthonians with great contempt, and will not associate or intermingle with them. Both these nations were Heathens; and though many of them had been baptized, partly by persuasion, and partly by force, and were called Christians, yet some remained Heathens to all intents, and others retained their heathenish customs, and yet attended the Christian ordinances: an instance of which is mentioned in this section. Their gross ignorance, blind superstition, and abject state as slaves, rendered them objects of pity; and as ignorance is always a companion, if not the

nian nations since 1741, was, by exceeding the proper bounds, fallen into great danger. I will briefly recapitulate so much of the affair from the beginning, as I have found in the reports which were required of some deans and ministers, and delivered to the upper consistory. Lady *Hallart*, according to § 70, had in the year 1736 applied for, and obtained in 1737, some catechists for her school-institution at *Wolmarshof*. Hence arose a great awakening among the *Lettonians*. The tutors, whom the nobility and clergy had applied for, to instruct the children and assist in preaching, and other domestics procured from the congregations of the Brethren, found an opportunity to lend the ministers in their extensive parishes an helping hand in the work among the *Esthonians* and *Lettonians*. These nations were at that time still involved, in a great measure, in blind superstition and gross idolatry; insomuch that one of these ministers, the Rev. *John Christian Quandt*, at *Urbs*, destroyed, in his parish alone, about eighty groves and places for sacrificing. My design and proposed brevity do not allow me to give a more circumstantial account of the blessing caused by the Brethren, under the direction of the ministers, in many thousand souls. The school-institution at *Wolmarshof* was soon found to be too confined, especially after it had been twice examined with high approbation by the general ecclesiastical commission, and the ministers and lords of other parishes had been advised in like manner to send persons thither to be prepared for school-masters. Lady *Hallart*, therefore, found herself in 1740 under a necessity, the school being again too small, after having once been enlarged, to erect a much

the mother of superstition, they were to be commiserated. But their being slaves to sin, and to sins of the most abominable and unnatural kinds, rendered their case most deplorable; and this their unhappy condition was the motive to the endeavours of the Brethren, the ordinary and the pious ministers in Livonia, to deliver them from their wretched spiritual and moral slavery, and lead them to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus. Blessed be God, their labour has not been in vain. (The Editor.)

greater building for this institution, which was called, *Lammfberg*.

Among the *Esſhnians* there was likewise a great awakening, which was carried on with blessing by the deans and ministers, with the assistance of some private tutors, and other capable domestics, sent to them and to the lords of manors from the Brethren's congregation; and freed from the fanaticism which had crept in at first. Some colleagues whom the pastor primarius *Mickwitz* had desired and obtained from the Brethren's congregation, laboured at the collegiate-school at *Reval*, and assisted him and the rest of the ministers in preaching, and in the private care of souls. So far every thing proceeded here in good order. But, in the year 1741, this zealous and truly blessed minister was misled by a certain Brother, who was inclined to extravagances, and acted herein quite contrary to his instruction, and to the mind of other Brethren, to settle a particular congregation according to his insight, and, as he called it, upon the plan of the apostles. Having, besides, a great relish for the proposals made in *Dr. Buddeus's Preface to the Church-History of Comenius*, for the introduction of a better church-discipline; many things of the Bohemian Brethren's constitution and church-discipline were mimicked in this regulation. He extolled on all occasions, even at the synods, the present Moravian church-constitution; introduced the Brethren, who were not intended to be Lutheran ministers, but their assistants only, yea such as were no students, into the synod, and caused them to preach even on the most distinguished occasions. Many Lutheran ministers, who were struck by the truth of the gospel, as by a sudden flash of lightning, but knew not what they did, were, in order to please him, received into the newly regulated congregation, and endeavoured to establish such congregations also in their parishes. Part of the Brethren, notwithstanding all the warning given them by other Brethren, were also drawn into these disorders, and contributed towards them. This
made

made a great noise, and, together with the controversial writings added to it from Germany, gave rise to many disturbances, and even to a dangerous uproar at Reval. Nothing else could be expected but an enquiry and the resentment of the magistrates. Many ministers drew back for fear; some even endeavoured to clear themselves of all blame, by accusing the Brethren, who, ignorant of the constitution of the country, were in the beginning misled by them.

§ 117.

THE ordinary, even before his going to America, had thought proper that his lady should go to the court of the then regent *Anna* at *St. Petersburg*, by way of *Copenhagen*, where she did many good services for the benefit of the heathen-missions in the Danish dominions. But in the mean while, as the well-known revolution happened in the Russian empire, she staid with her old friend, lady *Hallart*, and other acquaintances in *Livonia*. This gave occasion to her being charged with having a share in those disorders. Notwithstanding this, she proceeded, about the end of January 1743, on her journey to *Petersburg*, where she gave to several persons of rank at the Imperial court a true idea of the church of the Brethren in general, and of the work of God in *Livonia* in particular. She would likewise have been glad to have done this to her Imperial majesty herself. But as she could not conveniently obtain her purpose, and in the mean time received intelligence of the return of her consort; she went back to him. He, on his part, was determined to do his utmost, to have a disorder he had no hand in, and which he highly disapproved of, enquired into and rooted out, and to prevent the mischief to be apprehended from it. For this end, he resolved to offer himself for examination, both in *Livonia*, where a commission from the supreme government was now sitting, and at *Petersburg*; but found proper to send before him *Arvid Gradin*, who, in the year

1739, had been deputed to the patriarch of Constantinople, (§ 90.) with a writing to the synod which represents the Russian church. But the deputy was scarcely arrived at Petersburg, when he was impeached as an emissary by a Lutheran minister, and immediately put in prison, in which then three Brethren were confined, who had attempted to obtain passports to the neighbouring Heathen. He was obliged to submit to this confinement, under many vicissitudes, till the year 1747, when he and the three aforesaid Brethren were dismissed, and returned to Germany, as we shall see in its place. However, the writing, which had been taken from him on his being arrested, passed through almost every department, and the Imperial cabinet itself, into the hands of the synod; and, without any farther step of his in the affair, had indeed not the desired effect, viz. an impartial examination of the ordinary and the church of the Brethren concerning the share they had in the Livonian commotions; but yet did more good service to the church of the Brethren in general, and their cause in Livonia, than could have been expected in the circumstances at that time.

§ 118.

THE ordinary, who had received intelligence of the arrest of the deputy, and could neither know what the result of it might be, nor what awaited himself, nevertheless proceeded on his journey to *Russia*; several writings having been dispatched, both by him and the synod, to the Livonian states, and the different departments of government, to the Imperial commission, and to the vice-chancellor of the empire; in order, previously, to put them on all sides in a capacity of completing the examination so much the more solidly and without delay. But at *Riga*, under the pretence that no person of rank was permitted to travel to Petersburg, without leave from the empress, he was detained in the citadel from the 24th of December 1743 to the 12th of January 1744. It

It was, however, not to be considered as an arrest, and, accordingly, he was treated with great civility; which made the ordinary believe, it was thus contrived, from a true regard for his person, by the governor general *Lasey*, whose inclination for, and good testimonies of, the work of God in Livonia were not known till afterwards. Upon the order from the empress for his return being made known to the ordinary, he desired leave to wait three days longer, to see if any of his accusers had any thing to alledge against him. But none appearing, he entered upon his return. The writings, which were taken from him, were, with a very pressing address to the empress for a solid examination and final abolition of the affair, delivered into the Imperial cabinet; and, together with the aforesaid writing to the synod of the Russian church, and the acts of the commission in Livonia, as also the good testimonies given by several Livonians of rank of the Brethren, and of their own vassals, had the good effect, to prevent the sentence, which the enemies urged with all their might, of an entire proscription of the Brethren, and to avert any essential obstacle laid in the way of the work of the Lord. Even those deans and ministers, who, having acknowledged and confessed their mistakes, were not ashamed of the Brethren and their sufferings, received no injury in their functions, honours, and estates.

§ 119.

AT his return to *Silesia*, the ordinary again staid a few months at *Gnadek*, where his family, and, by degrees, the labourers from *Herrnhut*, and some from other places, came to him, in order to confer with him about their concerns. He likewise took the Silesian affair anew into his hands, especially the building and settlement of the colony at *New-salz*. On the festival of the incarnation of Jesus, March the 25th 1744, he made in stillness a visit to *Herrnhut*, rejoiced the congregation and the choirs with blessed discourses upon

upon the festival subject, and introduced his son *Christian Renatus*, by prayer and imposition of hands, to the office of co-elder of the single Brethren. On the 22d of April following, he visited once more in Herrnhut, and received the holy communion with the congregation in the church at Bertholdsdorf, at which he made the general confession in the name of the congregation. The minister at that time, *Paul Grob*, had been presented to the living in 1743, in the place of the Rev. Mr. *Schilling*, who, since the departure of the Rev. Mr. *Mukke*, in 1739, had served this congregation, and had now accepted a vocation to Vogtland.

The ordinary was not pleased that some people lived at Herrnhut, who, in his judgment, did not suit a congregation of the Brethren, nor the particular discipline and order of it; but, especially with respect to their children, were, or might be, of hurt and detriment to the other inhabitants. He, therefore, caused an examination to be made; in consequence of which, such persons were desired to remove to some other place. Most of them moved to Bertholdsdorf, and there enjoyed the care of the Brethren, which proved a greater blessing to many there than in Herrnhut.

§ 120.

THE last hours of a Brother of the Polish branch of the Unity, *John Nitsche*, who, at the end of 1743, departed this life at Herrnhut with uncommon joyfulness, incessantly addressing himself to the holy wounds of Jesus, had proved a great edification to many, encouraging them, in all circumstances, to look with particular devotion to the blood and wounds of Jesus. The ordinary, from a collection of the aspirations of the late Brother, compiled a *Litany concerning the Wounds of Jesus*. Upon this hymn he afterwards, in 1747, delivered some homilies, which differ from the rest of his discourses; for, though they, indeed, discover an heart

heart deeply penetrated with the love of Jesus and his wounds, yet they contain many expressions, which not only gave new occasion to the adversaries for charges of heresy, but even misled some Brethren to deviate, in some measure, though not from the only foundation of doctrine, yet from the simple and plain Bible-language, which otherwise had been constantly and blessedly in use in the congregations of the Brethren.

In the years 1743. and 1744, the ordinary composed particular *Liturgies* to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, as also hymns concerning both the church militant and triumphant, which were received by the congregation with great ardor, and prayed and sung with a true melting of heart. This proved the occasion, that, from this time, the doctrine of the Father and the Holy Ghost became, more than hitherto, the subject of the discourses and writings of the Brethren. But the objection which had been, until now, incessantly made to the method of teaching in the congregations of the Brethren, that our Saviour and his merits were too much, and the Father and the Holy Ghost, too little spoken of, misled some Brethren to hazard too bold expressions concerning the mystery of the holy Trinity and the internal relation between the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. This, indeed, did not cause them to turn from the person of Jesus, and the redemption in his blood. They, rather, continually urged this matter, and especially the merits of his holy incarnation, life, passion, and death, for our reconciliation, and the sanctification of the human soul and body in all the circumstances of life, as our comfort and example. But yet they used at times such expressions, as, in part, were not clear and determinate enough, and in part overstrained; which proved offensive to many divines both in and out of the congregations; especially when malicious and sensual men, such as the epistle of Jude describes and foretels, (ver. 19.) with a view to be revenged for their unsuccessful attempts against the other congregations of the Brethren,

were

were not ashamed to spue out the venom, lying in their own hearts, upon such expressions, to explain and pervert them according to their own carnal conceptions, and thus to render the Brethren ridiculous and odious to the enemies of the Christian religion; and, with them, the truths grounded in holy writ and deduced from thence, “concerning the preservation of the human soul and members, and the sanctified use of them in all the circumstances of human life.” This, indeed, did the Brethren no great harm, and proved a means of keeping many persons from their congregations, at a time when numbers were resorting to them from all parts. But yet, they have often, with pain, lamented their having given occasion to such calumnies by their want of circumspection.

§ 121.

FROM Silesia, the ordinary, in the beginning of the summer 1744, returned to *Wetteravia*, and took his residence at *Marienborn*, from whence the seminary and pædagogium removed to *Lindheim*, to make room for him and his family. Thither a number of labourers resorted to him, who wished to rest a while from their labour upon their posts, and to enjoy the nursing care of the congregation. These formed a fine house-congregation there, or, as it was afterwards termed, a *Congregation and Pilgrim House*, to which several young Brethren and Sisters were admitted, in order to be prepared for the service of God among Christians and Heathens. This household, therefore, proved at the same time a seminary, from whence, in this and the following years, many blessed labourers went forth into all the four quarters of the world. Here also a small family-printing-office was set on foot, with an intention to print, in small quantities, some pieces, which were either not at all designed for the public, or not until they were properly examined and amended, and to distribute them solely among the labourers,

bourers, both for their own private use, and for their revival. But yet, it could not be entirely prevented, that more members of the congregation, also friends, and even enemies, of their's, got them into their hands, and the last often sooner than the Brethren themselves. Incomplete and defective as they were, for the sake of gain, they were reprinted and dispersed in the world, misunderstood and perverted to the utmost by their adversaries, and used as supposed proofs of erroneous doctrines of, and other charges against, the Brethren.

§ 122.

FROM the 12th of May to the 15th of June, 1744, a synod was held at Marienborn. Among other things, one principal object was, to set in a clear and distinct light the *Tropi Pædias* *, or, the different ways and methods, in which the members of the Brethren's congregations, who were come together out of various countries and religions, differently conceive and express the fundamental truths of the Christian religion, in which they all do, and must agree. The ordinary was, from the beginning, of opinion, that it would be well, if the congregations of the Brethren formed no particular constitution, but were merely societies in the religion of the Protestant countries in which they dwell, and in communion with, yea, if possible, under the direction of it. But the Moravian Brethren had again obtained their ancient church-privileges, and had, in his absence, formed particular congregations in several places. (§ 63, and 110 to 112.) He was, indeed, willing to preserve to them these rights, together with the episcopal ordination; but he endeavoured, at the same time, to prevent them from

* This matter has been very clearly treated of in *A concise historical Account of the present Constitution of the Unitas Fratrum*, (published in German in 1772, and in English in 1775,) Part II. § 2 to 10. (The Editor.)

swallowing up in their church-constitution the Lutherans and Reformed, who moved to the congregation-places, or, in their own places of abode, continued in connexion with them; which, in the end, might prove their own ruin, on account of the too great confluence of people. It is true, he could not oppose it, that people, coming out of erroneous religions, after forsaking their errors, joined themselves to the Moravian church-constitution, rather than run from one religion to another. But he intended to hinder the commixture of religions, both in and out of the congregation-places, and the transition out of one religion into another, together with the sectarism, and condemning the opposite party, consequent upon it: and to preserve every one in that branch of the Protestant religion, in which he had been educated: to the end that, in case any one, or his children, should happen again to leave the congregation of the Brethren, his return to the religion, in which he was educated, might remain open to him, without being forced to a recantation, contrary to his conscience. He was, therefore, very desirous to have each of these different modes of education, the Moravian, the Lutheran, and the Reformed, properly distinguished; although these different sorts of Brethren, in essentials, avow one and the same doctrine, agreeable to the holy scriptures and the Augustan confession; and differ only in the way of thinking, and of expressing themselves. Each of these divisions, or tropuses, was to be provided with their own bishops and elders. To this end, his eldest assistant, *Frederic*, baron *de Watteville*, a native of Switzerland, who, in the year 1743, was chosen and consecrated a bishop of the church of the Brethren, at *Burau* in Silesia, was intended to be the bishop, or senior, of the *Reformed* Brethren. And now, an attempt was made to supply the *Lutheran Tropus* also with a bishop. The choice fell upon the Rev. *George John Conradi*, superintendent general of Sleswic-Holstein, an old friend of the Bre-

thren, who had supported the colony in Holstein from the beginning to the end. His vocation, together with the instruction, were sent him, June the 4th, 1744. But he found himself obliged, on account of his age, to decline it; which he did in a very friendly letter. Thus, this matter was postponed until farther consideration.

§ 123.

A NUMBER of controversial writings, swarming in the world about this time, were the reason that, in 1745, a deputation from the seminary at *Lindheim* was dispatched to the theological faculty at *Tuebingen*, with an earnest request for an examination, whether, and in how far, the church of the Brethren had undergone any alteration, since the Opinion of the faculty of *Tuebingen* in 1733, which could be a just cause, as the adversaries pretended, why that Opinion was no more applicable to the congregations of the Brethren. The deputies, *John Frederic Cammerhof* and *Paul Eugene Layritz*, were received and treated with much regard and friendship, and one of them preached in several churches, and especially in the hospital-church before the divines of the university, to their great satisfaction. They declined a new examination in a civil *Letter to the theological Seminary of the Augustan Confession*: but, “ to prevent all difficulties “ and farther controversies, they judged it most advisable to “ draw up a *public Instrument*, in the name of all the congregations of the Brethren, avowing their adherence to “ the unaltered confession of Augsburg, properly signed by “ the bishops and elders of the congregations; and to present “ it to the illustrious *Corpus Evangelicorum* itself; and, “ without engaging any farther in controversial writings, “ quietly to carry on the work of the Lord*.”

This

* It is true, that, soon after, an unkind Opinion of a certain divine of *Wuertenberg* appeared in print, which condemns, without

This good advice was accepted, and immediately, at the synod of this year, begun, as much as possible for that time, to be put in execution, and completed in the ensuing years.

A proposal was also made to both the Saxon divines, Dr. *Marperger* and Dr. *Loescher*, to obtain from the privy-council at Dresden an examination of the undertakings of the ordinary in the Protestant church, since his exile from Saxony. But this was also declined, with this declaration, that no approbations could protect a servant of Christ from persecutions.

However, the multitude of controversial writings rendered it necessary to publish an *Apology*. This was done in a writing, under the title of, *The present Form of the Cross's Kingdom of Jesus in its Purity, &c.* This piece contains several positions and truths, opposed to the almost numberless untruths, and proved with eighty documents. It was, indeed, not sufficient to pacify such as were inclined to be contentious; but yet, it conduced to instil a different way of thinking into many candid adversaries and impartial spectators, and to induce them to leave to the Lord what they could not comprehend. This writing was, in particular, attended with great advantage with respect to some ministers of state of the king of Prussia, with whom the deputies of the Brethren were in treaty about the affairs of the Moravian church; and who, as they declared to the ordinary during his abode at Berlin in autumn 1745, had been so perplexed by the horrible calumnies, that they were at a loss how to act in the affair: and hence it was, that sometimes favourable, sometimes adverse, measures were taken, according to the information the boards received.

without an examination, which had just before been declined, and seems to revoke, the *Opinion* of 1733. But it was not approved by the theological faculty. On the contrary, the first *Opinion* was confirmed. See the *Apel. Declaration, Quest. III. Final Apology, App. V. p. 529. let. u. Natural Reflections, p. 172. 2.*

This

This was the last time that the ordinary was at Berlin. The year after followed the king of Prussia's second general grant of church and other privileges mentioned § 110.

§ 124.

ABOUT this time, Germany, and Saxony in particular, was visited by a grievous war. The country about *Marienborn* was filled with English, Austrian, and French troops; and both armies could be seen from an eminence encamped opposite each other. The abominable calumnies drew many dangerous and troublesome visits to the congregation at *Herrnhaag* and *Marienborn*, with a view to disturb, and share with, the reputed heretics and fanatics in the enjoyment of the vast treasures they were said to have amassed from all parts of the world. But the effect was, that the visitants were clearly convinced, not by apologies, but by ocular demonstration, of the contrary of all that which, in part, respectable persons had suggested to them against the Brethren. Hence, great displeasure was excited against such adversaries and slanderers; but such love and regard for the Brethren, that, even by this means, they were spared, or eased of, many burdens and inconveniences, the natural concomitants of war; to which also the pains taken by the sovereigns of those parts contributed greatly. The preaching in the church of the palace at *Marienborn* was, on this occasion, much frequented; and, in the year 1743, the Hanoverian soldiers would, for some time, have a sermon preached to them every day by the Brethren. Many officers, even of the Romish religion, were powerfully affected, and often declared their wishes to spend their days among such people. A certain Hungarian officer, with permission of his superiors, left a young person nearly related to him in the œconomy of the girls at *Herrnhaag*, as she could by no means be persuaded to leave the place.

The congregations in Silesia and in Upper Lusatia experienced no less powerful protection from above during this war. When the Prussian troops occupied almost all Saxony, the congregation at *Herrnbut* was favoured with a particular protection, and saw both the retreating and the conquering armies march through the place in a friendly manner. At last the peace, concluded December the 25th, 1745, put an end to the distress and danger in these parts.

In the Empire, where the war still continued, in July, 1745, when a synod was to be again convened at Marienborn, the country was still filled with the two opposite armies. But two days before the opening of the synod, they marched off, and permitted the Brethren and Sisters, travelling from different parts to Marienborn, to pass through them with all civility and in peace.

§ 125.

AT this synod, among other things, the three *Tropuses* in the Unity of the Brethren were still better regulated, and soon after brought to effect, as we shall see in the ensuing year. The *Ministerial Functions* in the Brethren's congregations were revised, according to the ancient church-order of the Brethren; the distinction between *Presbyters* and *Deacons* renewed; and the acceptance of *Acoluths* introduced. *Presbyters* are the regular ministers of a congregation, and have the office of teaching, and the administration of the holy sacraments committed to them. *Deacons* are their assistants, both in the spiritual and temporal care of a congregation; but, in want, or in the absence, of the proper minister, may perform the sacred functions; and they receive a particular ordination for that purpose. *Acoluths* are those who devote themselves to the service of the Lord and of his congregation; and are accepted to it by the bishops and elders, by giving their hands upon it at a public meeting of the congregation.

congregation. *Eldereffes* and *Deaconesses* were, according to the usage of the ancient church of the Brethren, appointed and blessed for the care of the female sex. The laudable order of *Civil Seniors* and *Conseniors*, which was introduced in the year 1560 at the synod of *Xians* in Poland *, was also restored, and the blessing of the church imparted to the Brethren chosen for the purpose, with imposition of hands.

Endeavours were used to take proper care of the youth, especially out of the congregation-places, by the appointment of persons, called, *The Children's Fathers and Mothers*. The many children of the members of the congregations in Silesia, which lived scattered in several villages, and could not enjoy proper care, had, as early as the year 1743, given occasion to this regulation. These appointed *Parents of the Children* were, besides their ordinary occupations, to visit the children in their houses, to speak affectionately to them, and to endeavour to instil into them a lovely impression of their Creator and Redeemer, which might prove a blessing to them in the future circumstances of their lives. They were likewise to be ready to advise and encourage the parents to a careful and wise treatment of their children. This regulation, indeed, met with many difficulties; but, nevertheless, where it was brought to bear, was attended with a remarkable blessing.

§ 126.

BEFORE I proceed to the following Part, I must take notice of some remarkable incidents, which properly belong to this period, but could not be so suitably introduced before.

The church-affair of the Brethren in *Silesia* had, in many places, drawn much envy and enmity upon the Brethren's congregation; and, besides giving occasion to other things, had given rise to a multitude of controversial writings: which

* See the *Ancient History of the Brethren*, § 31.

had different effects. In places where the congregations of the Brethren were not known before, many, who considered that Jesus and his apostles were also reproached, reviled, and persecuted, became desirous of knowing the Brethren more fully. This caused many visits to the Brethren's congregations. But in many places, the awakened souls, by reason of their acquaintance with the Brethren, were oppressed, and thus induced, nay, some even compelled, to retreat to the congregation-places. By this means people came flocking more and more out of almost all the Protestant countries, both in and out of Germany. To put some stop to this, and to prevent the congregations from being crowded too much, and the religions from being deprived of many of their sincere members, (for many a pious minister made this his principal complaint;) endeavours were used, not only, to preserve the Silesian Brethren in a closer union with the Lutheran church, though in vain; (§ 112.) but it was also found necessary, at the request, partly, of the ministers and lords of manors, and partly, of the awakened souls, to send Brethren to many places, in order to take upon them the care of the awakened, to exhort them to a more faithful adherence to their religion, to withhold them from separatism, as also from an unnecessary and precipitate removing to the congregations; and, on the other hand, to bestow all possible care upon them in their places of abode, according as time and circumstances should allow. These endeavours were accompanied with great blessing in many places. In Sweden, many separatists were gained by this means, and many who had been prejudiced by them, were preserved in the church. Not only many ministers there made use of the advice and assistance of the Brethren among their awakened people, but even one of the bishops cultivated a correspondence with the bishops of the church of the Brethren; and many divines wished that the Brethren might lend an assistance to the mission in Lapland. Two Brethren, *Elias Ostergreen* and *Ulric Bahr*,

Bahr, made again some stay in Lapland ; but found no particular ingrefs. In *Livonia*, the work of God, notwithstanding all oppression, continued in blessing, under the inspection of some deans and ministers. Besides those students from the seminary of the Brethren, who assisted the ministers in these and other countries, in the capacity of domestic tutors, some preached in Lutheran pulpits, at *Erfurt*, *Minden*, *Bergen* in *Norway*, *Utrecht*, *Leiden*, and the *Hague*, at *London*, &c. but some of them were again deprived of the liberty regularly granted them before, after the controversial writings had made their appearance, though no erroneous tenets could be laid to their charge. Wherever the souls under the care of the Brethren did not walk orderly, or assumed to themselves more liberties with respect to the religious constitution, than became them and was necessary, the Brethren withdrew from them, and required of them a written declaration, that they would no more call themselves Brethren ; that so, all the speeches and actions of such people might not, as before had been the case, always be laid to the charge of the congregations of the Brethren, and these be judged and described according to such, so-called, *Herrnhuters* and pretended congregations.

The acquaintance with awakened souls in the religions did not decrease, but rather increase ; and this was sometimes occasioned in a very singular manner. For instance ; a certain eminent Reformed minister, in a distant country, where the name of the Brethren was not yet known, among other edifying books he ordered to be brought from the fair of *Leipfic*, got the ordinary's *Berlin-Discourses*. (§ 76.) These, as he was a man deeply immersed in mysticism, appeared to him too simple. He made a present of them to a plain country-clergyman, for whom they were too high. He was, therefore, desired to explain them to him. And now he himself found the great mystery of religion, which, amidst all his mystical wisdom, he was still defective in. He was led into the doctrine of the atonement in the blood of Jesus,

returned to the simplicity of the gospel, sought for the Brethren, and made them acquainted with other ministers, who honoured him as a father, and with their awakened souls.

The Moravian Brethren tried to renew their acquaintance with the Brethren in *Poland*, as they had done before in the year 1739. They sent, in 1742, a deputy to the senior at *Lissa*. But, lest they should add new troubles and persecutions to their already distressing circumstances, they did not accept the overture. It may, probably, have proceeded from the same cause, that the awakened souls there were not allowed to have any communication with the Moravian Brethren; which was the reason that some of them chose to remove to *Newfalz*.

§ 127.

IN *Pennsylvania*, the congregations of the Brethren at *Bethlehem* and *Nazareth* (§ 98 and 101.) had, from time to time, been considerably augmented; and had likewise, by some Brethren from the seminary and other qualified and gifted persons, been enabled to continue to preach the gospel, and to minister unto the country-congregations gathered out of the religions and the smaller sects; as also, to carry on the missions among the Heathen. At the synod in *Marienborn*, in the year 1744, the Rev. *Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg*, who had been formerly in *Pennsylvania*, was consecrated a bishop, and full power was given him to act as vicar general of the bishops, as also to have the chief inspection of the work of God committed to the Brethren among Christians and Heathens in America. I find in the *Result* of a *Pennsylvanian* synod, (which synods were held every half year, sometimes in one place and sometimes in another,) members from ten nations, and seven different religious parties, besides the Heathen-messengers, and helpers from among the Indians. Among them were fourteen Lutheran ministers

ministers of the constitution of the Brethren, and deputies from fourteen Reformed congregations, which were joined to the Brethren, and ministered unto by some Reformed ministers. Besides these, many invitations to preach were given the Brethren from divers places.

The mission among the Indians in *North America* has been treated of in the beginning of this Part, § 102, 103, and 104: but, on account of the connexion, I am obliged to leave the rest to be related in the following Part.

The mission in *South America*, on the river *Surinam*, was indeed strengthened from *Bethlehem*; but met with so many difficulties, that the Brethren moved away from thence, and some of them went to the Brethren on *Rio de Berbice*. But neither could these, as they were not yet able rightly to express themselves in their language, speak of any blessing among the Indians, the good impression excepted which their life and conversation made upon them.

§ 128.

THE mission among the Negroes in *St. Thomas*, amidst all the difficulties both from without and within, proceeded with almost inconceivable blessing. It is true, by the ordinary's visitation in the year 1739, (§ 85.) they had obtained some relief; but their oppression soon began anew. Nevertheless, the Negroes could not be withheld, having done their work, from coming in the night to the preaching of the gospel, on working-days, as well as on Sundays, and joyfully suffered bonds and stripes on that account. The missionaries spent their time, by day, in hard bodily labour for their sustenance, and, by night, in spiritual labour among the Negroes, for the most part in weakness and sickness; and hardly a year passed without one or more of them ending their race; to which even the affliction of their minds, on account of the sufferings of their Negroes, and the manifold maltreatment of their own persons, may have greatly

contributed; as for instance, the many blows given to one of them threw him into a fit of sickness, and, though he recovered at that time, yet he soon after departed this life. Notwithstanding all this, the work greatly increased; ninety Negroes being all baptized on one day, the 26th of February 1741. The believing Negroes, sold or transplanted from St. Thomas to other islands, spread the awakening there too, and begged for teachers. But these could, at present, do no more than visit them in *St. Croix* and *St. Jan*, until they received more assistants from the congregations of the Brethren. Their and the Negroes supplications moved many to hasten to their assistance. Even in 1739, the student *Albinus Theodore Feder*, from Vogtland, offered himself for this mission. Being ordained for it, he was confirmed by a Royal rescript, with a mandate for his protection against lawless people. *Christian Gottlieb Israel*, an extraordinary instrument of God, went with him. He came from the village *Eubau*, not far from Herrnhut, was born of poor parents, bred a weaver, was lame withal, and mostly walked with a crutch; but had such a fervent spirit, that he would not be withheld from going and preaching the gospel to the Heathen. He and *Feder* having reached *St. Eustatia*, in passing over from thence to *St. Thomas*, the vessel stranded in a storm on the 17th of January, near *Spanish Town*. The sailors took to their boat, and left them with the vessel upon the rock. *Feder* ventured to let himself down by a rope into the sea, in order to swim on shore, which was scarcely a stone's cast from the rock, thinking thus to procure assistance for his lame Brother. But the raging billows did not suffer him to reach the land. Lame *Israel* was obliged to remain on the wreck, over which the waves were continually beating, and was saved, after the storm had ceased*. He la-

* We find the declaration he gave of his disposition of mind, while he was in danger of his life on the rock, in the *Buedingen-Collection*, Vol. II. p. 796.

boured four years with great blessing, and began afresh, in the year 1740, the mission in St. Croix, which was then at a stand, where now the baptized amount to many hundreds. We find letters and diaries from him in the *Buedingen-Collection*.

As, by means of the unhealthy air and hard labour in this hot climate, many Brethren, and often such ordained persons as were confirmed by the king, were taken off by death, and then difficulties were laid in the way of other Brethren, who were not by name confirmed by the king; the Brethren, therefore, in the year 1744, on sending another missionary, requested his confirmation, together with five assistants joined to him, and obtained it in a rescript of the 22d of May, and of the 28th of December 1744: and since then they have been protected in the enjoyment of their privileges*.

§ 129.

THE missionaries at *New Herrnhut* in *Greenland* had, in the year 1738, the joy to see the first-fruits, *Samuel Kajarnak* and his family, converted unto Christ; but were, presently after, painfully afflicted by his flight for fear of the murderers. So much the greater were the joy and surprise of the Brethren, when he returned in the year 1740, at the time of the visitation of *Andrew Grasmann*, and drew many Heathen after him, who by his testimony had been made attentive to the word, and by degrees became believers. The eldest missionary, *Matthew Stach*, went with *Andrew Grasmann* on a visit to Germany, and returned in the year 1742, having been ordained for his office, and confirmed by a Royal rescript, dated March the 16th 1742, as the regular minister of the Moravian Brethren in *Greenland*. In this very year the great awakening among the *Greenlanders* pro-

* More of his may be seen in *Oldendorp's History of the Missions in the Caribbee Islands, &c.*

perly commenced. Every year more were added to the congregation, than, according to the small number and roving way of life of this nation, could have been expected. Hence, more missionaries were required. *John Soerensen* and *Christian Boernike* were joined to *John Beck* at his visit in Germany in the year 1746. It was very agreeable and highly edifying to the Heathen, that the Brethren could live with their neighbours, the Danish missionaries, in peace and brotherly unity, thus being conducive to the mutual benefit and preservation of each other's converts, without confounding their respective constitutions. (See the *History of Greenland*)

§ 130.

THE missionary *George Schmid*, after he had baptized five *Hottentots*, was returned to Europe from the *Cape of Good Hope*. (§ 79.) He desired leave, in the year 1745, to return thither with some assistants, but could not obtain it. In the year 1746, an account was received by an officer from thence, that the baptized and catechumens still kept together, and greatly longed for his return. *John Martin Schwæbler*, who had formerly been in the service of the company there, went thither in 1747 to stay, and to take care of the forsaken *Hottentots*. But no farther account was received of him, than that he married there, and soon departed this life.

A monument was exhibited of the deserted mission in *Ceylon*, (§ 80.) by the surgeon *Christian Dober*, who, by means of the Brethren there, was, in the year 1742, brought to the knowledge of the truth. He came to the Brethren's congregation, and brought a *Malabar* along with him, who, in the year 1746, was baptized and called *Samuel Johannes*.

Conrad Lange, in the year 1742, set forward on his way to *China*, intending to take the Brethren *Zacharias Hirschel* and *Michael Kund* with him to the *Calmucs*. But, on soliciting for a passport at *Petersburg*, they shared the same fate as the Brethren did, who in 1738 proposed going to the *Sam-*

Samojedes and Laplanders. The disturbances in Livonia, which began at that time, exposed them to suspicion. They were put in prison, in which they continued, with greater liberty, or closer confinement, alternately, till the year 1747, when they were dismissed, and returned to Germany.

In the year 1743, a Brother of the seminary, *Otto William Hassé*, resided among the *Jews* at *Amsterdam*, and seemed to meet with blessing; but soon departed this life. Several baptized *Jews* came about this time from other places to the congregation, and afforded some hopes that a time would come, when a *Kehille*, or congregation of them, would be seen, for a blessing to their nation: but it appeared that the proper time of their visitation was not yet come.

THE
MODERN HISTORY
OF THE
BRETHREN.

PART VI.

From the Synod held at Zeist in 1746, to the Ordinary's last Journey to England in 1751.

§ 131.

IN the year 1746 a Synod was held at *Zeist*, in the see of *Utrecht*. A certain friend of the Brethren at Amsterdam had last year purchased the barony of *Zeist*, with a view to the establishment of a Brethren's congregation there; since *Heerendyk* was inconvenient for the settlement of a regular congregation-place; and yet many had expressed a desire to live in a congregation of the Brethren. These built, by degrees, between the palace and the village, several houses in two squares, which give this place, beautiful in itself, a still better appearance. The States of *Utrecht* have at all times approved themselves as true fathers of their country, with respect to this place, and allowed the Brethren all reasonable liberty. The numerous visits of strangers, not only of *Holland*, but from divers nations, though attended with some

some inconvenience, yet contributed greatly to the maintenance of the inhabitants, and had chiefly this advantage, that many persons who had been prejudiced against the Brethren, obtained and took home better ideas of them, and that many persons of other countries heard the gospel, perhaps the first time, with a blessing for their hearts.

Notwithstanding all the pressures which the *Pastoral Letter* of the classis of Amsterdam, written and published in the year 1738, (§ 83.) and the controversial writings and calumnies following upon it, brought upon the Brethren, the work of the Lord proceeded in stillness in several parts of the United Netherlands. The greatest blessing about this time, was to be perceived among that branch of the *Mennonites*, who inclined towards the Socinian doctrine. Our Saviour in particular made use of the evangelical testimony of the Rev. Mr. *Deknatel*, to stem the prevailing torrent, preserving his hearers in the doctrine of the divinity and the merits of Christ, which was also acknowledged in public writings. Among the Reformed, God, in a remarkable manner, raised up the Rev. Mr. *Bruinings* at Amsterdam, to be a blessed witness in his religion. But he suffered much on this account, and in the year 1749 departed this life with the universal testimony of having been a servant of God, and, as some expressed it, a martyr for the truth.

§ 132.

At the synod of *Zeist*, among other distinguished persons, there were present the reigning count *Henry* the XXIX. *Reufs* of *Eberdorf*, with his consort, and his chaplain, the Rev. *Frederic Christopher Steinhofser*: the re-union of the congregation at *Eberdorf*, with the congregations of the Brethren, so often wished for, having taken place. The ordinary had long maintained a cordial friendship with the house of *Eberdorf*, and by his marriage was more closely united with it. At the time when the Moravian Brethren

settled at Herrnhut, the house of Ebersdorf joined itself to that congregation of the Brethren; and, in consequence of it, paid often visits to Herrnhut. In the year 1734 Steinhofer was given to them as chaplain, and other Brethren and Sisters, for the attendance upon, and education of, their children, who, at the same time, were a blessing to the inhabitants of that place, and to many others in those parts; several of whom moved, from time to time, to Ebersdorf, and others sent their children hither for education. In this manner, a congregation was collected here, to which the former friends of the Brethren in particular joined themselves, who, since the commission at Herrnhut in the year 1736, and the renewal of the Moravian church-constitution, had, through the manifold insinuations of the adversaries, been staggered concerning the congregation of the Brethren. By degrees, a coldness and misunderstanding took place between Herrnhut and Ebersdorf. The countess of *Zinzen-dorf*, indeed, endeavoured, at a visit in the year 1742, to remove it. But this attempt was without effect; as were likewise the visits of the Brethren, after the synod held in 1743 in the castle of count Reufs at *Hirschberg*, the congregation at Ebersdorf having, a short time before, renewed their union, and made their particular regulations; which, though borrowed, in certain points, from the congregations of the Brethren, were yet to distinguish them wholly from them. Notwithstanding this, some members of this congregation, especially such as were come from Herrnhut in the first times, or had visited there, and brought home with them a blessing for their hearts, could not be satisfied with this estrangement, and the want of several blessed regulations; which they signified to their labourers upon many occasions. This induced Steinhofer, in the year 1745, when he began to see that their regulations, in inward and outward things, would have no stability, to visit the congregations of the Brethren in *Wetteravia*, and to take a nearer view of their regulations. He acknowledged the grace which the Lord had

had bestowed upon the Brethren's congregations in the old and new world among Christians and Heathens; saw and felt where he and his Brethren were deficient, and, at his return to Ebersdorf, gave them an account of it. The effect was, that most of the chief persons besought both him and the count, to make proposals of an entire union with the congregations of the Brethren. This union was scarcely effected, but the whole congregation was overpowered as by a new stream of grace, which no one could resist; though it cannot be denied, that, in the first zeal, various extravagances occurred, which, by degrees, were removed with love and earnestness. In the spring of 1746 the reigning count and his lady, together with some Brethren from Ebersdorf, held at *New Dietendorf* a blessed conference with the ordinary and other Brethren; and, after the synod at Zeitz, the ordinary himself went, in the December following, to Ebersdorf, and brought to effect, both in inward and outward things, the regulation of this congregation, as desired at the synod. The former labourers, who wished to be employed in other places, were, for the most part, appointed to the service of the Lord in other congregations of the Brethren; and the congregation at Ebersdorf provided with new labourers. The ordinary's idea was, that this congregation ought to have a minister of its own, who should be subject to the common consistory of the counts of *Reuss*, and maintain the connexion of the congregation with the Lutheran church, together with the constitution of the Brethren, agreeably to the *Opinion of Tuebingen*. A Lutheran candidate was called for that end, and presented for ordination. When this met with difficulties, a Lutheran minister, who was in office in the neighbourhood, was proposed for the purpose. But even this was not accepted. For the consistory had been prejudiced by means of the late controversial writings, and a theological Opinion procured in this case, so, as to suppose, that a congregation, though maintaining the Lutheran doctrine, could not any longer be reckoned to the

Lutheran

Lutheran church, on account of its fellowship with the church of the Brethren.

In the mean time, the reigning count departed this life at *Herrnhaag* in the year 1747, and the countess dowager *Theodora*, of the house of *Castell*, retired, after some time, to *Herrnhut*. Her third son, *Henry XXVIII*, who, in the year 1746, after the conference at New Dietendorf, went to *Wetteravia*, staid there, and was, in the year 1747, married to the countess *Agnes Sophia* of *Promnitz*, of the house of *Sorau*. Some, indeed, of the inhabitants of *Eberstadt*, who were dissatisfied with the union, left the Brethren, and several of their friends in the adjacent parts withdrew themselves. But both the former were abundantly replaced and greatly encreased from other congregations of the Brethren, who enlarged the place considerably; and the latter, by other friends in those parts, who visit, and are visited by, the Brethren.

§ 133.

AT the synod of *Zeist*, among other things, the affair of the *Tropuses* in the Unity of the Brethren (§ 122.) was considered more closely, and brought into better order. As to the inspection of the Lutheran tropus, which was offered in 1744 to the Rev. Dr. John George Conradi, general superintendent of *Sleswic-Holstein*, but declined by him on account of his bodily weakness, and being advanced in years; (§ 122.) the ordinary took it upon himself, until an approved divine of the Lutheran church, not a member of the Brethren's congregation, could be found, who should be willing to undertake this office. For the inspection of the Reformed tropus, the Rev. *Christian John Cochius*, dean of the chapel of the king of *Prussia*, was chosen and called. The deputy, who brought him the vocation and instruction, first of all presented a memorial to the king. The dean of the Royal chapel received orders to declare, Whether he could or would accept of this office? He declared his mind

to

to this effect, that, for his part, he had no scruples about it; but, as he was engaged in other offices, and as this new office in a church, which had been hitherto attacked by so many adversaries, might, possibly, be attended with much opposition; he would refer it to the consideration of the consistory at Berlin, and the theological faculty at Frankfurt on the Oder, and be directed by their opinion. The members of the consistory were divided in their votes; but the faculty was unanimously for it, applauding the design, and wishing both the dean and the church of the Brethren the blessing of God on it. He, therefore, accepted the offer, and, by a Royal rescript, of the 9th of September 1746, was confirmed as antistes of the evangelical Reformed Brethren, and as one of the presidents of the synod of the Unity. In this quality he also appeared at the synod of 1748 in Silesia.

§ 134.

AFTER the conclusion of the synod, the ordinary went to England, whither a numerous company followed him from the synod. Here, the labour of the Brethren had been greatly blessed, and still increased more and more. The preaching of the gospel in the Brethren's chapel at London, was much frequented. Many souls were awakened, and added to the societies, which were ministered unto by the Brethren with the gospel and good counsel. But such as were not content with this, but would have the word and the sacraments ministered unto them by the Brethren, were, upon their pressing desire so often repeated, received into the Brethren's congregation, and treated by the Brethren like other congregations. Moreover, some Germans adhered to the Brethren, to whom the gospel was preached in their own language; and the ordinary also delivered to them some public discourses.

At *Broadsaks* in *Essex* was, since 1746, an institution for children; which was afterwards divided. The girls went, in

1746, to *Mile-end*, near *London*, and the boys, to *Buttermere* in *Wiltshire*, and afterwards to *Yorkshire*.

At *Bedford*, and in the circumjacent parts, in 1745, a congregation of the Brethren had been settled from among the awakened souls.

In *Yorkshire*, the labourers, who had the care of those extensive societies, were moved to *Pudsey*, where they built an house and a chapel in it, called *Gracehall*, for preaching the gospel, on a piece of land which the Rev. Mr. *Ingham* had bought. More and more out of the neighbourhood were continually added to the societies. By degrees, some also came to live with the Brethren, and built a congregation-place near the chapel, called, at first, *Lamb's Hill*, and now, *Fulneck*.

This increase was made at a time, when England was in the greatest commotions, on account of the rebellion in Scotland, which brought also many troubles upon the Brethren. For many being scrupulous to take an oath, they were charged with being *Nonjurors*, who would not take the oath of allegiance, because they were attached to the Pretender; and therefore, the Brethren were oppressed as suspected people. They, indeed, after the example of all the religions and corporations in England, presented, in 1744, an address to the king, assuring him of their loyalty and fidelity; which was very graciously received. Nevertheless, a rumour was spread by evil-minded people, that the Brethren were secret Papists, and adherents of the Pretender, taking measures, at their meetings, to set him upon the throne. Malicious people even gave out that they had seen great chests and casks unloaded before their chapels and houses, which could contain nothing else but arms and powder; and that the Pretender was concealed among them. The people, at such times ready to suspect all foreigners, were by these reports incensed against the Brethren, and threatened to destroy their chapels and school houses. But the magistrates interfered, and by a strict search of the houses
thus

thus charged, silenced these wicked calumnies, and removed the apprehensions arising from them.

In *Yorkshire*, though the chapel and meeting-houses were licensed by the arch-bishop's court, yet some ministers of the Brethren were imprisoned, in order to be forced to military services. Some abandoned wretches, who sought to hinder the settlement at *Fulneck*, and especially the establishment of a cloth-manufacture, had dropped on the way thither a letter written in cyphers; which was delivered to the magistrates, and compelled them, also here, in order to appease the disturbances, to a strict search of the houses; and thus, the accusers of the Brethren were put to shame. Nevertheless, all fear of the people, and the disquietude of the Brethren springing from it, were not entirely removed, till after the total overthrow of the rebels.

§ 135.

AMIDST all these troubles, the societies of the Brethren were greatly increased. It was also impossible to refuse communion to a Methodist preacher, *John Cennick*, whose grandfather had been a Bohemian refugee, with some of his colleagues; though every objection was made to them beforehand. *Cennick* had preached the gospel in and about *Bristol*, especially to the colliers at *Kingswood*, as also in *Wiltshire*, with much blessing; and endured great persecution in many places, especially at *Exeter*. At London he assisted the Rev. Mr. *Whitefield*, preaching at the tabernacle, a large chapel in Moorfields. *Whitefield*, at his departure, about that time, to America, had committed his societies to him. Here he came into a nearer acquaintance with the Brethren, and desired to be in fellowship with them; which was, at last, promised him, on condition that he would disengage himself, in an orderly and peaceable manner, from his former connexions, and not draw a croud of his hearers at the tabernacle after him, but submit every one, who would

not be kept back, to the examination of the Brethren. As it affected him too painfully, to leave so many people behind, in whom he, however, saw a sincere desire; so, in order to avoid the intreaties and urgency of his friends, he went, in the year 1745, to the seminary of the Brethren in Germany. But he was soon disposed to return to England again; and preached in many places in the country, and especially in *Wiltshire*, with great blessing. From hence he was invited, in the year 1746, to *Dublin* *. He, therefore, delivered the

societies

* At *Dublin*, and throughout the whole kingdom of *Ireland*, Arianism and Deism gained daily more ground. The avowers of Arianism and Pelagianism were called *New Lights*, and the orthodox, *Old Lights*. The contention between these two parties, particularly among the Dissenters, ran very high: though, as to most of them, the contest was chiefly about private opinions, which did not relate to the renewal of the heart, and the experience of reconciliation through the blood of Christ. A small society was formed, consisting of persons of different religious denominations, who were sincerely intent upon finding and maintaining the truth. These, in general, held the orthodox system; and agreed upon articles of faith and good works, in which they expressed their abhorrence of the prevailing errors. They farther agreed not to enter into disputes about the particular tenets of their different religious persuasions; but to do their utmost to maintain the fundamental truths in their respective congregations. They met once a week to pray, and to expound a portion of the holy scriptures.

A certain young man, who was gone from hence to London, wrote very moving letters to his father and friends, bearing an uncommonly striking testimony of Jesus and the redemption in his blood. Some of these letters were read in this small society, and proved a great edification to all that heard them. He, after some time, returned to *Dublin*, and uttered the divine truths he had experienced, with extraordinary and convincing liveliness, mentioning *John Cennick* as the instrument of the change of his mind, and speaking of him in the highest terms as of a true preacher of the gospel. This induced the society to write to *Cennick*, who was then with the Methodists, and had the care of Mr. Whitefield's societies, desiring him to pay a visit to *Dublin*. He resolved to come hither, and set out by way of *Parkgate*; but was detained there so long by contrary winds, that he, at length, was obliged to return to London. Soon after, he joined the Brethren, and went upon a visit to the congregations in Germany.

After

societies he had settled in the West of England, to the care of the Brethren, and preached in *Ireland* with success. Having attended, in the year 1747, the synod at Herrnhag, he entered upon an entirely new field in the North of Ireland, where he, though under great persecutions, yet, with the satisfaction, yea, benediction of the arch-bishop, to whom he gave an account of himself in an audience he was admitted to, preached the gospel to many thousand souls; and thus laid the foundation for several congregations and societies. Even the Papists attended his sermons. And when some ministers made their complaints to their superiors, they were admonished, likewise to preach Jesus Christ and him crucified, that their hearers might have no reason to go any where else.

§ 136.

IN *America* the work of God in the hands of the Brethren spread more and more. The settlements at *Bethlehem* and *Nazareth* prospered, and proved a benefit and blessing to the whole neighbourhood, both in temporals and spirituals. The Brethren's congregation became more and more known, through good and evil reports. People came from all parts to get acquainted with them, and commonly went home with a

After his return to England in the year 1746, he went to Dublin, upon the repeated pressing invitation of the society. His sermons were attended with power, and a great number of souls were awakened. The following year he returned to London, and went again to Germany, where he was present at the synod of Herrnhag.

A young preacher, who was a member of the society at Dublin, carried on Cennick's labour, preaching, as he had done, twice a day. During this period, a certain man who had gifts, but was of an abandoned character, and an artful hypocrite, came from England, and began to preach. He made various attempts to attach the awakened souls to himself. This induced the before-mentioned young preacher to form a society of the awakened souls, consisting of some hundred persons, which Cennick found regulated at his return to Dublin in the year 1747.

good impression. Many were desirous of living there; but a few only could be admitted. They who were obliged to continue in their places of abode, solicited for Brethren to preach the gospel to them, and take the needful care of their souls. From hence arose many societies and congregations in towns and in the country, to which the awakened from the adjacent parts adhered. Where no such little societies existed, as could be provided with their own labourers, to such places a Brother was sent, from time to time, to preach the gospel; and often more invitations were received, than could be complied with. I compute, even about this time, above thirty places in the provinces of *New England, New York, the Jerseys, Maryland*, and particularly in *Pennsylvania*, where the Brethren laboured with blessing among Germans, Swedes and English of various persuasions: and, accordingly, in one year only, besides the Indians and Negroes, nineteen grown persons from among the Baptists, Mennonites, Separatists, and Quakers, were baptized by the Brethren.

This extensive field required more labourers, than the congregation at Bethlehem could furnish, and part with. New assistants, therefore, were sent them from Europe almost every year. In particular, at the synod of Zeist, *John Frederic Cammerhof*, late a conventual of the Protestant cloister of *Bergen*, was appointed to go thither. He was ordained a co-bishop, while the ordinary resided at London; and went with some more ministers out of the seminary, and other Brethren, to *Pennsylvania*.

But the Brethren met also with much opposition. Endeavours were used in particular to stir up the Swedes against them, being the oldest Lutherans in the country, among whom also some Brethren laboured with blessing. A certain merchant gave a false report to the arch-bishop of *Upsal*, and, in consequence of it, desired his opinion, how they should look upon the Brethren? It is possible, that the arch-bishop confounded them with the Separatists, who had, for some time,

time, given much trouble to the clergy in Sweden; for he returned this answer: ‘ They ought to be guarded against, ‘ seeing they rejected the Godhead and the merits of Christ, ‘ made light of Christ for us, and of justification, of the holy ‘ scriptures, of baptism, and the Lord’s supper, &c.’ Every one knew the direct contrary, and that they were blamed in Germany for making too much of our Saviour and his merits, and not urging the law and sanctification. But, since this advice might, however, serve to lay some restraint upon the Brethren; it was signed and ratified by some ministers, and published from the pulpits*.

Various stories were also propagated in Germany, in which the Brethren were accused of having forced themselves upon the Lutherans in America, attempting to draw them from the Lutheran church, and causing schisms. Although the ordinary had been regularly called by the churchwardens of the German Lutherans at Philadelphia, to be their minister, and appointed inspector of the Lutheran congregations, before any of the German ministers were come hither; (§ 99.) yet he resolved, from love of peace, rather to give way. He, therefore, in a letter, dated London, September the 13th 1746, to the church-wardens of the Lutheran congregations in Pennsylvania, resigned his office, and desired that this declaration might be published. But he was answered, in a letter of February the 3d, 1747, in the name of the Lutherans united with the Brethren’s congregation, that he had not been rightly informed, if he conceived that most of the Lutheran church-wardens, who gave him the vocation, were gone over to the other side; that the schism was not to be imputed to the Brethren, but to the other party; and that they could not dismiss him and the Brethren

* The arch bishop was indeed afterwards better informed, and received an entirely different idea both of the Brethren, and of the state of religion in America: but, the opinion being once given and published, the case was here too, *What I have written, I have written.*

from their service among them, upon this groundless supposition. He was obliged to let it rest here. It was, however, agreeable to him and to the Brethren to know that the poor Lutherans in America had ministers, of whom they and their children received due instruction, and were formed into a regular religious constitution.

§ 137.

BESIDES the labour among Christians, the Brethren had a large field among the *Indians**, which, notwithstanding all the difficulties and impediments, was in a flourishing state. The Brethren from *Bethlehem* visited assiduously among the Indians living around them, and up the *Susquehannah*. They were obliged to make their way to them over high and steep mountains, through thick untrodden woods, through swamps and rivers, which had no bridges, and often through the fire, the Indians being used to set fire to a wood, in order to burn the leaves, that the grass may grow the better for the deer. They were often obliged to spend many nights successively in the woods among snakes, wolves, bears, and panthers; to carry their provisions with them for the whole journey; and, when they reached the intended place, to live in the Indian manner, be satisfied with their food, and often suffer hunger. Some Indians, indeed, understood a little English, whom they could use as interpreters. But yet, they were obliged to learn their languages, especially that of the *Mohoks*, or *Maquaas*; for which purpose, some Brethren, from time to time, resided at *Canischochery*, and afterwards at *Onondago*.

* The mission among the Negroes in the *Caribbee Islands*, and that among the Indians in *Berbice*, were, about this time, in a great measure likewise supplied with provisions from *Bethlehem*; the missionaries who returned from their posts, or who came on a visit, were provided with necessaries, and their vacant places supplied; and the gospel was also preached to the Negroes in *Philadelphia*.

The Indian chiefs, indeed, kept the covenant they had made with the ordinary in the year 1742, (§ 102.) so that the Brethren could go in and out among them without molestation. But the Brethren were obliged to act very cautiously, to prevent all suspicion; and were often in danger of their lives from the drunken Indians, so, that they were obliged to hide themselves from them for several days in the woods. All these difficulties did not deter them, and were more easily surmounted, than the impediments laid in their way by some of the white people, in their labour among the baptized Indians in the provinces of *New York* and *New England*. When they saw that the Indians began to be converted in truth, and to relinquish sins, in which many avaricious people found profit; they endeavoured to prejudice the Heathen against them by various slanders. They said, for instance, The Brethren had not the right doctrine: they intended to transport them and their young folks over the sea, and to sell them for slaves, and the like. But when this did not succeed, they inflamed some ignorant zealots for religion to such a height, that, in June 1743, they fell upon the mission at *Pachgatgoch*, or *Skatticok*, in *Connecticut* government, and took the missionary *John Christopher Pyrlæus*, and his two assistants, *John Shaw* and *Martin Mack*, prisoners, and dragged them from one place to another before the ministers, to be examined by them; who endeavoured, by all sorts of captious questions, to draw something out of them, which might render them suspected by government. At last, after three days, they were brought to the governor; who, having examined them in a proper manner, dismissed them as innocent people. After many such chicanes, the adversaries of the Brethren found means to create a jealousy against them, as secret Papists and traitors, in the government of *New York**, which they carried to such a length, that

* This calumny continued a long time, and gained ground also in *Pennsylvania*. A certain person accused the Brethren before

that an *Act of Assembly* was passed, in which all secret Papists, Moravian Brethren, and such suspected persons, as could not acquit themselves by taking an oath, were prohibited from going among the Indians. But, as many Brethren scruple taking an oath, *Gottlieb Buettner*, *John Shaw*, and *Gottlieb Sensemann*, who ministered to the Indian congregation in *Chekomelah*, were, in the year 1744, cited by the governor of New England, and examined. *David Zeisberger* and *Frederic Post* were, in the spring of 1745, on their journey to the country of the Maquaas, arrested, and confined upwards of six weeks at New York; and no Brethren were any longer allowed to live among the Indians. It is true, this *Act* was not renewed the next year, since some members of the assembly vehemently opposed it, from the principle, that it proceeded from a spirit of persecution. However, the enemies of the Brethren had, in the mean time, got a handle for destroying the mission among the Indians.

§ 138.

THIS induced the Brethren in Germany, in the year 1745, by their deputy at *London*, to lay the affair before the board of trade and plantations, and to solicit for protection against such undeserved restrictions. They also obtained a promise, that the government of New York should be written to, and the case of the Brethren, as good Christians and true Protestants, recommended to the governor in the best manner; which was accordingly done, and not without effect. But, since the Brethren did not believe themselves by this means to be universally secured also in the rest of

fore the magistrates, of having received French Indians, and concealed arms for three thousand men. The affair was examined into before a justice, found false, and a heavy penalty laid upon the slanderer; but it was remitted upon the intercession of the Brethren.

the

the American provinces; the ordinary, during his residence at London at that time, endeavoured to settle the matter upon a firm footing. His former friends, with whom he renewed his acquaintance, advised him, to cause the Brethren, at the next session of parliament, to present a petition to extend the benefit of a late *Act of Parliament for naturalizing foreigners*, who shall settle in the plantations, to the Moravian Brethren and other foreign Protestants; who make a scruple of taking an oath. General *Oglethorpe*, in the spring of the year 1747, presented the petition to the House of Commons with an ample speech, and was supported by many members. The opinion of the board of trade was required on this head. The proprietor of Pennsylvania promoted the affair among the members of parliament, and especially with the secretary of state, the duke of *Newcastle*, by his good testimonies of the Brethren in Pennsylvania. The matter of the *bill* was properly discussed, formed into an Act, and, having passed, with the greatest satisfaction, through both houses, received, in June 1747, the Royal assent *. Hereby the aforesaid *Act of Assembly* was, of course, annulled, and no one could now appeal to it; and, by virtue thereof, lay any thing in the way of the labour among the Heathen.

§ 139.

IN the mean time, the Indians had carried on the work among themselves, and every month sent messengers to *Bethlehem*, to give an account of their situation, as also deputies to the synod of the Brethren in Pennsylvania. Neither could the Brethren forbear going, through long circuits and over untrodden mountains, in danger of their lives, to visit their forsaken sheep, and even staying with them for a

* See *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia. Appendix to the Vouchers*, XXXVIII, XXXIX, XL.

while

while in stillness; until the Indians saw it necessary to look out for some other place of abode. Part of them lived then in New York government, part in the government of Connecticut, chiefly in three places, *Chekomekah*, *Wechquatnach*, and *Pachgatgoch*. In the first place, they had formerly, in a drunken fit, sold their right to the land for a trifle; and, on their being converted, occasion was taken from thence to drive them from it. Some were dispersed in the wilderness, and, as is easy to be imagined, suffered damage in their souls, until they could again be sought after, and gathered to the flock. In order to prevent this evil, the Brethren thought of erecting a settlement of the converted Indians at *Wajomik* on the Susquehannah. In this view, *Spangenberg*, accompanied by *David Zeisberger*, took, in the year 1745, a journey to the great council of the Indians at *Onondago*, to obtain the consent of the Six Nations. In the mean time, many Indians came quite unexpectedly from *Chekomekah* and the other places to Bethlehem; where, with the approbation of the governor of Pennsylvania, they were received and entertained by the Brethren. It was proposed to them, to go to *Wajomik*. But they showing no inclination to live among the rest of the Indians; the Brethren, in the year 1746, bought a tract of land on the *Mahony*, beyond the Blue Mountains, convenient both for hunting, the proper sustenance of the Indians, and for cultivation, as an interim-place of abode for them. Most of the Indians moved thither, and were furnished by the Brethren with the necessaries for building an Indian town, which was called *Gnadenbuetten*, or, *Tents of Grace*. Many remained still in their former places, especially at *Wechquatnach* and *Pachgatgoch*, and had, from time to time, a missionary living among them, until, by degrees, most of them too moved away, and partly followed their Brethren.

§ 140.

ABOUT this time, *John*, the first-fruits of, and teacher among, the Mahikanders, (of whom mention was made § 103.) departed this life. This gave occasion to reckon up all the first-fruits of the Heathen that were brought to Jesus Christ through the ministry of the Brethren, and, to the year 1747, were fallen asleep in the faith; and to represent them in a picture in their natural colours, and in the dress of their country. They are painted as standing before the throne of Jesus with palms in their hands, given to them by an angel, with the superscription out of the Revelations, chap. xiv. 4. *These were redeemed from among men, being the first-fruits.* Their names are,

1. *Sam*, a savage of New England.
2. *Samuel Kajarnak*, the first Greenlander.
3. *Guly*, a Persian woman.
4. *Thomas*, a savage of Canada.
5. *Catharine*, a Mulatto, from St. Jan, with a Negro-girl, *Rebecca*.
6. *Gratia*, a Negro-woman.
7. *Catharine*, a Gypsy-girl, that, after the mother was shot, was given, by the count of *Buedingen*, to the œconomy of girls at *Herrnhaag*.
8. *John*, a Mahikander, a teacher among the savages.
9. *Andrew*, a Negro, with his son *Michael*, in the arms of a single Negro-woman, *Anna Maria*.
10. *Carmel*, afterwards called *Joshua*, a Negro of Guinea, whom *Leonhard Dober* bought in St. Thomas, and brought with him.
11. *Jupiter*, whose Christian name is *Joshua*, a Negro of New York.

12. *Francesco*,

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12. *Francesco*, a savage of Florida.
13. *Hannah*, a widow of Guinea.
14. *John*, a Negro of South Carolina.
15. *Kibbodo*, whose Christian name was *Jonas*, an Hot-tentot.
16. *Ruth*, an Indian.

In this picture, which has excited many beholders to praise and glorify God, are, moreover, seen two remarkable persons, though descended from Christian parents, who came to the congregation of the Brethren, and there departed this life, viz. *Christian Zedmann*, an Armenian, and *Thomas Mammucha*, a Mingrelian. On the other hand, the first-fruits of the Tattern-nation, and of the Arawaks in Berbice, who were then in the Brethren's congregation, but were not at home with the Lord, are not to be found in it.

§ 141.

IN the year 1747, a synod was held at *Herrnhaag*. The ordinary, having built an house here, and a spacious chapel in it for the congregation, moved, in the beginning of the year, from *Marienborn* hither, with the congregation and pilgrim-house. (§ 69.) Several misunderstandings, even then, began to appear between the regency of *Buedingen* and the direction of the congregation at *Herrnhaag*. But the congregation itself was, as yet, not disturbed by them. The visits from near and distant places were never so numerous in any congregation, as they were here this year. The single Brethren alone reckoned an hundred and sixty-two persons, who desired to live with them; sixty-three of whom were admitted, but the rest were advised to return home, and to prove a good salt in their religions. Good fruits were afterwards seen from some of them. *Herrnhaag* was, about this time, the place of rendezvous, whither the pilgrims and labourers, among Christians and Heathens, came

from abroad to rest for a while: but others were here prepared, and dispatched; and, at the end of the year, about two hundred Brethren and Sisters were reckoned, who either went again, or were sent the first time, to certain posts. Among them also were some from England, who had been present at the synod, and were attacked at sea by privateers, but escaped unhurt.

The consistory at *Stutgard* was desired to send a deputation to this synod; to examine, whether the principles and facts alledged against the Brethren by Dr. *Christian Eberhard Weismann*, a professor in the university of *Tuebingen*, in his *Church-History*, were grounded, or not? Whether the Brethren had acted contrary to the *Opinion* of the theological faculty at *Tuebingen* of 1733? And, in what manner the ordinary had conducted the administration of the Lutheran tropus, which he intended to resign at this synod? The privy-counsellor *Bilfinger*, as president, answered in the name of the consistory, declining the deputation to the synod as unnecessary and impracticable, and declaring Dr. Weismann's *Church-History* to be a private treatise, that could not make void the *Opinion* of a whole theological faculty, which still retained its force, notwithstanding the attempts to dispute the then presupposed agreement of the church of the Brethren with the Protestant doctrine, which still subsisted as sound as ever; and advising the Brethren to make a declaration on this head to the public, instead of any examination. The article in Dr. Weismann's *Church-History*, here referred to, was illustrated in the *Natural Reflections* with annotations, and the points, in which he was mistaken, set in their true light. As to the administration of the Lutheran tropus, the ordinary was obliged still to retain it for the present.

At this synod, one hundred and fifteen persons were, according to the usage of the ancient Brethren, accepted, as acoluths, to the service of the Lord and his church: thirty Brethren and Sisters were ordained deacons and deaconesses;

conesses; four Brethren, presbyters; and two were consecrated bishops. One of these was *Leonhard Dober*, of Bohemian extraction, the first missionary among the Heathen, and afterwards elder of the congregation. The other was *Johannes de Watteville, Langguth*, who, in the year 1743, was consecrated a co-bishop at Gnadenfrey in Silesia, adopted by baron *Frederic de Watteville*, which adoption was confirmed by an Imperial diploma, and, during the synod at *Zeist*, held last year, married to the ordinary's eldest daughter, countess *Henrietta Benigna Justina de Zinzendorf*.

§ 142.

IN the interval, a great change in Saxony began to take place. We have seen above, (§ 67 and 68.) that the ordinary, during his exile, did not give up his hopes of seeing the work of God, put into his hands, carried into execution also in his beloved native country. He had, from the beginning, looked upon all the hardships, that befel him and the Brethren in Saxony, as events, which God himself caused, with a view that they should not stay together in one place, but that the kingdom of Jesus might be spread abroad by them in more places; which could not well have come to pass, had they remained quietly at Herrnhut. But he likewise constantly believed that the case would alter again in Saxony. I have met with some thoughts of his concerning it, which he uttered some years before this alteration took place, and which seemed at that time entirely incredible. Thus he writes in his memorandums: “The
 “ design of our Saviour’s wonderful dealings with us in
 “ Saxony is, to counteract certain well-concerted schemes
 “ of the adversaries; to procure for the Lutheran tropus
 “ its last retreat, and to raise us to honour in the very
 “ place, from whence all wicked defamations took their
 “ rise, and spread in the world.” And before this, it is said:
 “ The main support of the congregation will proceed from
 “ that

“ that very quarter, from whence its ruin is expected, as soon as we desist from all our own works, and for some years refrain from all solicitations.”

In consequence of this advice, the soliciting for examinations, having been more than once tried in vain, was at length dropped; and a very common incident, unexpectedly, gave occasion to this long hoped-for alteration. In the year 1746, the estate *Groß Hennersdorf*, which belonged to the count's late grandmother, where he was educated in his infancy, was offered on sale to him. He endeavoured to decline it, since he could not live in the country, and make a proper use of it; but at last, after much persuasion, consented that his eldest daughter should make the purchase. This negotiation came to the knowledge of the king's ministers at Dresden, who took occasion from hence, to enquire more narrowly into the present circumstances of the ordinary, the reasons of his exile, and the state of the Brethren's congregations out of Saxony. They were the more inclined to this enquiry, as the proceedings at *Herrnhut* for many years past, which, amidst all the adverse insinuations, had been taken strict notice of, had greatly changed their former disposition towards the church of the Brethren. The effect was, that it was to be intimated to the ordinary, and even signified by a letter from court, that he might return to Saxony. This overture was combined with a desire that he would use his interest with his friends abroad, to procure a considerable loan to the electoral treasury of Saxony. When, therefore, presently after, a large capital, which the Brethren, in the year 1742, had procured in Holland for a person of high rank, upon a mortgage, was offered, and promised to be repaid at the Leipzig fair at Easter 1748; the ordinary embraced this opportunity to comply with the desire of the court, and thus to show to the electoral house, in some measure, his attachment and fidelity to it and to his dear native country, which he had unalterably maintained in all the circumstances that had befallen him. He

disposed his friends in Holland to lend the aforesaid capital to the electoral treasury. This step was very graciously received; and it was signified to the ordinary, that it was wished that more such colonies as Herrnhut might be established in the country. For this end, the electoral bailiwick of *Barby*, with the palace and the farms belonging to it, which were lately fallen to the electoral house by the death of the duke of *Weissenfels*, were offered to the Brethren as security for the said loan.

§ 143.

UPON these assurances, the ordinary, in autumn 1747, went to *Herrnhut*, and, after a short visit in Silesia, to *Leipzig*, during the fair. Here a farther assurance was given him verbally by the conference-minister, count of *Hennike*, of the aforesaid gracious intentions of the king; and proposals were made, in what manner they might be put in execution. But the ordinary, previously to this, petitioned for an examination, so often wished, of his doctrine and office, and of the state of the church of the Brethren; and, in hopes of attaining this point at last, he accepted of the Royal decree, issued out October, the 11th 1747, concerning his restoration in Saxony. After some stay at *Gross Hennefsdorf*, he returned to *Herrnhag*, and in the spring of 1748 went again to Saxony, in order to obtain the desired examination; to which end he went in April to *Dresden*. The ministers of state declared to him, that the king was willing to grant the Moravian Brethren, as an exemplary society in doctrine and life, the privileges which they had all along enjoyed at *Herrnhut*, not only in *Upper Lusatia* and the county of *Barby*, but also in all his hereditary dominions. But the ordinary again repeated his request for a previous examination, without which the Brethren in future could settle nowhere. On its being objected, that this was not necessary, since the Brethren at *Herrnhut* had been examined in the years 1732 and 1736, upon which the Royal confirmation followed

followed in 1737; he acquiesced, that Herrnhut should be excepted: but desired so much the more earnestly an examination of his and the Brethren's doctrine and proceedings; presented an historical deduction on this head to the king, exhibited a plan of examination, and made a proposal, that the lord lieutenant of the margraviate of Upper Lusatia, and the dean of the king's chapel at Dresden *, might be sent in this view to the synod of the Unity of the Brethren, to be held at *Gross Hennersdorf* this summer. This was agreed to. But, the latter being scrupulous to take this commission upon himself alone; two professors of divinity, one of Leipzig and one of Wittenberg, were adjoined to him. The dean of the king of Prussia's chapel, the Rev. Dr. *Cochius*, also intended to appear at this synod, as antistes of the Reformed tropus. But since in the king of Prussia's permission these words were inserted, "If the synod should be held "in Silesia"; the synod was not held at *Gross Hennersdorf*, but in Silesia; and, the Saxon divines being also scrupulous to go out of the country, without the king's orders, they were not present.

§ 144.

At last, the ordinary procured a Royal commission, to be held at *Gross Hennersdorf*. The actual privy counsellor, and first president of the consistory, count *De Holzendorf*, the privy counsellor and lord lieutenant of the margraviate of Upper Lusatia, count *De Gersdorf*, the deputy-lieutenant, count *De Loeben*, the counsellor and ordinary of the juridical faculty at Wittenberg, Dr. *Leyser*, the counsellor of appeals and of the consistory, Dr. *Heidenreich*; and the following divines, the dean of the king's chapel, Dr. *Herrmann*, and the doctors and professors, *Teller* of Leipzig, and *Weikmann* of Wit-

* Though the elector of Saxony (at that time king of Poland) is a Roman Catholic; yet the Lutheran is the established religion of the country, and the elector has Lutheran court-chaplains, of whom the dean of the chapel is the chief. (The Editor.)

tenberg, were appointed the commissioners. The first, the third, and the fifth had been at the commission of 1736. Besides the ordinary of the Brethren, eleven deputies, empowered by the bishops of the Brethren's church, were present in the name of the Brethren. The commission was opened, July the 29th, 1748, by an address of the first commissioner, count De Holzendorf, to the deputies, in the presence of all the Brethren in the place, and by reading the Royal commission; to which the ordinary replied, with a declaration of his joy at the long wished-for examination being now obtained. At the very beginning he delivered an ample deduction of all the general and special circumstances of his office, together with some volumes of acts and documents, as also a memorandum concerning the points hitherto controverted, upon which he desired an examination. For this end, he had ordered not only his books, but the writings of all his adversaries, as many as could be procured both here and in the city-library at Zittau, to be laid upon the table, in order to enable the divines to form a true state of the case. Opportunity was also given them to hear the ordinary deliver all the discourses to the congregation and the different choirs at Herrnhut, as usual on Sundays. Moreover, every one of the commissioners might be present at the daily meetings of his house; and they also went several times to Herrnhut, where they took a view of all the regulations, choir-houses, and economies, and testified their particular satisfaction at them. What, and how matters were treated during this commission, and how the report of the commissioners was worded, I cannot here give any more circumstantial account of, since the acts were not published. But yet, as many of these things have come to the cognisance of the public in an improper manner; I think myself also authorized briefly to touch upon that point at least, which was of most importance to both sides; being enabled so to do from the journal, which I kept on the spot as amanuensis of the ordinary at that time.

§ 145.

THE ordinary, before he could engage in the establishment of any more colonies in Saxony, insisted upon knowing with certainty, Whether he and his Brethren were acknowledged in Saxony as adherents to the Augustan confession? This should not be supposed, nor merely declared on the side of the Brethren; but solidly examined into. For this purpose, fifty-one questions, relative to the controverted points, were laid before the commissioners in their instruction, upon which they were to learn the sentiments of the Brethren. These were given in writing to the deputies of the Brethren, July the 30th. They delivered their sentiments at large upon every question on a separate sheet of paper, discussing and answering all the objections which might possibly, even afterwards, be raised against them. On the 1st of August the ordinary delivered a discourse to all the Brethren present, showing, that their business was not now to adopt, and give in, a confession, but to declare what doctrines, and in what manner, they have hitherto been taught in all the congregations of the Brethren, agreeably to the Augustan confession. He then ordered the answers to be read; which being approved by all the Brethren, as their real sentiments, were signed by him and the deputies, and delivered to the commissioners. They thought some answers too prolix and too particular, and desired a more distinct explanation of some doubts which were raised. This was given, in writing and by word of mouth, to the whole commission on the 3d of August in the forenoon, and in the afternoon in a conference of the ordinary and two other divines of the church of the Brethren, with the ecclesiastical commissioners; and minuted. The ordinary having been at Herrnhut with the divines, and having on the way had some material private conversation with them, some more questions were propounded on the 5th of August, to which verbal answers were desired, and

immediately given. The commissioners were willing to let this suffice. But the deputies could not be satisfied with it; and, on the 7th of August, desired the commissioners, if the divines, from the answers now given, could not consider the doctrine of the Brethren as conformable to the Augustan confession, that they would declare their objections. After some difficulties, the ordinary and the Rev. Mr. *Steinhofer*, being empowered for it by the Brethren anew, were invited to continue the conference. At the conclusion, the ordinary asking the divines, if they had any thing farther to object? and they having nothing farther to advance; a minute was taken of it, and the temporal commissioners testified their satisfaction, that now the principal end of the commission was attained. August the 8th, the rest of the deputies declared, before the commission, their entire concurrence with all the answers given by the ordinary, and once more desired to know, Whether the doctrine of the Brethren could be considered as consonant with the Augustan confession? or, whether any objection still remained? They received for answer, that the sentence of yesterday should stand; and, as to any thing farther, it should be mentioned in the report to the privy council. What the issue of this was, may be gathered from the subsequent Royal resolutions.

§ 146.

I PASS OVER the rest of the matters, and the formalities of the commission, which on the 10th of August was closed with a speech, giving assurance of the king's most gracious disposition towards the Brethren, and of the constant friendship and good wishes of the commissioners; and with an address of thanks by the ordinary. An unexpected objection to one of the proofs of the divinity of Christ, drawn from his creating the world, occasioned the deputies to deliver in a farther declaration, beginning with these words: "The whole Moravian church, with all its tropes,
" once

“ once more declare positively, and in all the countries
 “ where they are established, their *adherence to all the doctrinal*
 “ *articles of the Augustan confession, so as they were read, on*
 “ *the 25th of June 1530, in the German language, before the*
 “ *electors, princes, and cities, and delivered to his Imperial*
 “ *majesty, Charles V: because they are concordant with the*
 “ *holy scriptures, &c.*” They, at the same time declare,
 that they will have their writings, hymns, and homilies
 interpreted according to the Augustan confession, and will
 allow no minister to teach contrary to it; as also, that
 they esteem the principle, again springing up, of judg-
 ing of the holy scriptures according to the symbols and
 creeds, and not these writings according to the Bible, as
 dangerous and fanatical; and will not admit it among them.
 At the conclusion, they desire the divines from the universi-
 ties then present, faithfully to join with them in contend-
 ing against Arianism, gaining ground again in the world,
 by occasion of the controversy concerning the work of
 creation.

The commissioners then took leave of the ordinary and
 the rest of the deputies in the most cordial manner, and
 departed together on the 12th of August.

§ 147.

PRESENTLY after, the ordinary also, and the rest of the
 deputies, returned to *Wetteravia*, waiting with resignation
 for the resolutions of the king of Poland upon the report
 given by the commission. The first thing was, that, in the
 year 1748, the bailiwick and palace of *Barby* were ceded on
 lease to count *Henry XXVIII. Reuss* and his consorts; and,
 in the month of November 1749, the *Seminary* of the Bre-
 thren was transferred hither from *Marienborn*. The ordi-
 nary's intention was, that nothing of these events should
 transpire. But as there appeared, in the news-papers, ac-
 counts of the commission and its consequences, which were,

on the one hand, too favourable, on the other, disadvantageous, and thus quite contradictory, and, for the most part, untrue, or, however, ambiguous; so he found himself under a necessity to give a circumstantial account of it, according to truth, in the *Natural Reflections*. A report being spread, that a Royal decree would soon be published in favour of the Moravian Brethren in Saxony; the synod transmitted to the king a letter of thanks for the commission; in which, at the same time, the reception of the Moravian church in Saxony was for good reasons declined, as nothing but disturbances would be the result; and it was requested that the Lutheran tropus might be supported. A Royal mandate, dated September the 20th, 1749, ensued, importing, that the congregations of the Protestant Moravian Brethren, avowing the unaltered Augustan confession, should be received in all Saxony, in the same manner as in Upper Lusatia, and in the county of Barby. This was, by the king's orders, put into the hands of the ordinary, on his return in 1750 from England to Saxony, and afterwards made known by the privy council to the supreme court in Upper Lusatia, with orders to intimate the contents of it to the Brethren's congregations and institutions in Upper Lusatia, and to assure them of the grace and protection of the king. This having been done to every lord of a manor, under whom Brethren's congregations and institutions were established; this most gracious mandate was, on the 23d of November 1750, published to the congregation at Herrnhut, when the daily word was: *The sparrow hath found an house, and the swallow a nest for herself,—even thine altars, O Lord of hosts, my King and my God!* (Psalm lxxxiv. 3.) with which words *Christian David*, who led the first Brethren out of Moravia, (§ 4, 5, 6.) had made the beginning of the building of Herrnhut in the year 1722.

Some Saxon divines, indeed, who would not acknowledge the Brethren as adherents to the Augustan confession, began, more than ever, to vent themselves in controversial writings

writings against them. But the king and ministry seriously resented this conduct, and continued in their gracious disposition towards the Brethren. Accordingly, a mandate, dated April the 29th, 1751, was sent to the supreme inspector of the county of Barby, to deliver to the evangelical Brethren's congregation, avowing the unaltered Augustan confession, the chapel of the palace for their divine service. This was done on the 25th of May; and on St. John's day the first sermons were preached in it, in the forenoon by the late chaplain of count Promnitz of Sorau, and present director of the seminary, *Gottfried Clemens*, and, in the afternoon, by dean *Justinus Brueningk* from Livonia, who was here on a visit.

The congregation at Herrnhut continued in its former order and regulation; and the Moravian church-constitution was no more introduced here, than in other places in Saxony. But the place greatly increased, as to its inhabitants, by those who came from a distance, who at the same time brought with them useful trades and manufactures. This was, in a particular manner, visible in the very small congregation-place, *Niesky*. (§ 113.) A farther good effect of the negotiations in Saxony, was, that an eminent divine of this country accepted, with the approbation of the sovereign, the honorary presidency of the Lutheran tropus in the Unity of the Brethren. The synodal act, conferring the presidency upon him, was executed at Zeitz, October the 1st 1748.

§ 148.

THESE events in Saxony also occasioned the re-union of count *Gerstorf's* institutions for the benefit of the *Vandal* nation *, with the congregation at Herrnhut. The blessing in

* The Vandals in Lusatia, and in other parts of Germany, form a distinct nation, though living in the midst of the Germans. They have a different language, which is a dialect of the Slavonian,

in this nation was originally by means of the grandmother of the ordinary, the late lady *Gerſdorf*, who, firſt of all, at her own charges, had the *Pſalms*, and ſome portions of the *epiſtles* of the *Apoſtles*, tranſlated and printed for their uſe, which were followed by the *New Teſtament*, and in 1727 by the whole *Bible*. About this time, the privy counſellor and lord lieutenant of Upper Luſatia, count *De Gerſdorf* conferred with the ordinary about the method of taking the care of the *Vandals* upon his eſtates. He ſent boys to the inſtitutions at *Herrnhut*, with a view to have them educated for the ſervice of his people; and deſired the *Brethren* to viſit the awakened *Vandals* upon his eſtates. God afterwards raiſed up ſome miniſters, eſpecially the Rev. *John Pech*, adjunct to the miniſter at the *Vandal church* at *Budiſſin*, and the Rev. *John Gottfried Kuehn*, adjunct to the miniſter at *Klix*, by whom a great awakening was occaſioned. The awakened *Vandals* themſelves began to bear witneſs of *Jeſus*, and went, with the *Bible* under their arms, to the neighbouring villages, held meetings, and ſtirred up in great numbers a concern for their ſalvation. *Herrnhut* ſhone in their eyes; and, between the years 1730 and 1735, often from fifty to an hundred perſons went through the villages to *Bertholdsdorf* and *Herrnhut*, ſinging ſpiritual hymns. This, indeed, cauſed much noiſe and diſpleaſure, and was one occaſion, among others, of the reſentment at that time ſhown againſt the congregation at *Herrnhut*, though the *Brethren* had no actual ſhare in it. The troubles, which in the year 1736 came upon the congregation, intimidated and kept off many. But the continuation of the work of God among the *Vandals*, lay with ſo much the greater weight upon

nian, different dreſs and cuſtoms; and retained many heatheniſh uſages, and even idols, till the beginning of this century. They are, in general, bondſmen or ſlaves, and in a very abjeſt ſtate. Yet ſome obtain their freedom, and the rights of denizens. They are extremely tenacious of their national language and uſages, and very unwilling to adopt thoſe of the *Germans*. (The Editor.)

the heart of count Gersdorf. In this view, and by the advice of the aforesaid court chaplain, the Rev. *Gottfried Clemens*, at Sorau, he formed a conference of four Vandal ministers. These appointed some awakened Vandals to visit and hold meetings in the villages, and met every quarter of a year to consult about the good of this nation, and to give the visitors their good advice. But this conference of ministers, after some time, being dropped, he erected upon his estate at *Klix*, under the inspection of the Rev. Mr. *Kuehn*, an institution for the preparation of some students for the ministry, and young people for schoolmasters among the Vandals. At *Uhyß*, another of his estates, he set up a school for Vandal boys and girls from other places, built a spacious house for it, and provided them with masters from *Sorau*, and from *Ebersdorf* in *Vogtland*. From the latter place he called a student to *Teichnitz*, near *Budissin*, who, three times a week, held a meeting for the Vandals living in that district, and, together with some Vandal assistants, took care of the awakened. These, since the year 1736, had been divided. Some kept to the congregation at *Herrnhut*, but made good use also of the institutions of count Gersdorf. Others were prejudiced against the Brethren; because, as they said, the congregation was not under the gospel, but under the law. When the Rev. Mr. *Clemens*, after a blessed performance of his office at Sorau for eight years, went, in 1745, to *Ebersdorf*; and, presently after, the union of this congregation with the congregation of the Brethren took place; count Gersdorf, who perceived the finger and blessing of God in this alteration, again made application to *Herrnhut*, intreating for labourers for his institutions. In the room of the student whom he had employed at *Teichnitz*, who had accepted a parish, he obtained the student *Herfen*, of the seminary of the Brethren; and for the school at *Uhyß*, the Rev. Mr. *Messarsch* from *Holstein*; and, by degrees, still more Brethren. *Herfen* carried on the labour at *Teichnitz*, in good order and in stillness, with great blessing; and left behind him,

him, at his decease in 1749, for the Vandals, a fine collection of translated hymns, which were printed under the title, *The Voice of the Bride of Jesus*. From this time, the meetings were held by Brethren from Herrnhut and Niesky, till in the summer of the year 1751, when the lord lieutenant, count *Gersdorf*, departed this life at Carlsbad in Bohemia. The Vandals were now at a loss for a meeting-place, as the circumstances at *Teichnitz* were altered. But providence had taken care of them. *Matthew Lange*, a Vandal born, who, from the beginning of the awakening, had adhered to the Brethren, had, by the advice and assistance of the late count *Gersdorf*, bought, in 1745, the small manor *Klein Welke* bordering upon *Teichnitz*; and now invited his Vandal Brethren hither. They, therefore, after the close of the last meeting at *Teichnitz*, removed, July the 24th, their place of meeting into the manor-house at *Klein Welke*; where, as well as at *Teichnitz*, they enjoy the benefit of the liberty granted by the Royal mandate of 1749, those villages being extra-parochial since the burning of their church at *Budissin*.

§ 149.

As soon as the commission in Upper Lusatia was ended, the ordinary went, through Wetteravia and Holland, to *England*, and arrived at *London*, in the beginning of the year 1749. Here he was received with various disagreeable news. False accounts of the negotiations in Saxony, which were of such a nature as might make a bad impression upon the English nation, appeared in the public prints. They began to translate some libellous writings into English, and to talk of an adverse edict of one of the most powerful states of the empire, which might have an influence in the dominions of Great Britain. The Act of Parliament of 1747, mentioned in § 138, was not sufficient for the protection of the Brethren in all places from various grievances. These
and

and other circumstances might have been attended with the worst of consequences to the Brethren in England and in America, where the missionaries had still to encounter with many difficulties. To prevent these difficulties, the ordinary was desirous of hastening the long wished-for examination of the church of the Brethren, by the Parliament of Great Britain. But, since no examination can be obtained in England without an accusation or petition, and many Brethren scrupled to take an oath, and to bear arms; his friends advised him to present a petition to Parliament for exemption from taking an oath and bearing arms. To attain this, and, at the same time, the desired examination, many such points were asserted of the church of the Brethren in the petition, as they wished to have examined and proved. I will relate the process of the affair out of the Diary of the Brethren, and the Reports of the Parliament, with all possible brevity.

§ 150.

THE petition was presented to the house of commons, February the 20th, 1749*, by four deputies empowered for it. Lieutenant-general *Oglethorpe* supported it with an extensive speech concerning the origin, and the constitution of, and the events in, the church of the Brethren, and concerning the usefulness of their colonies; and was seconded by another member. An eminent and very active member rose, and delivered a vehement speech against the Brethren, laid various things to their charge, and advised not to give the Brethren an hearing, but to reject their petition. This speech was confuted by five of the most respectable members, in so many successive speeches, who urged the reception of the petition, and the examination of the points men-

* The dates here are all according to the new stile, as the other part of this History is. (The Editor.)

tioned*. The petition was accordingly received, and the examination referred to the consideration of a committee of forty-seven members, among whom was the aforesaid opponent. The *Committee* was opened on the 6th of March, and continued on the 10th and 21st of the same month. Several members of parliament, not included in the committee, were sometimes present at it. The seventeen points, laid down in the petition, were gone through, and proved by an hundred and thirty-five documents, the greatest part of which were originals; and, in case of any want of clearness, explained by the deputies. The committee, from this examination, made their *Report* †, “ That they had examined “ the matter of the said petition.” Upon this, it was twice read in the house. To this report the documents or vouchers were annexed, to which the deputies added also the twenty-one doctrinal articles of the Augustan confession. The report was ordered to be printed. But, at the request of the deputies, it was thought proper to make public no more than seventy-seven of the annexed documents. Leave was given to bring in a bill; which was prepared and brought in accordingly on the 28th of March. The bill was then read the first time, and, on April the 1st, a second time, and then referred to a committee of thirty-two members, to whom forty members more were added on the 15th of April. This committee made their report on the 17th of April, “ That they had examined the allegations “ of the bill, and found the same to be true; that they “ had gone through the bill, and made several amendments “ thereunto.” The report was read, and the bill, with the amendments, delivered in at the clerk’s table, where the

* All the speeches in both houses were printed at *London* in the *Universal Magazine for the months of April and May, 1749.*

† The *Report*, with an *Appendix of the most material Vouchers*, containing seventy-seven documents, were printed at *London*, in folio, with the title, *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia, 1749.*

amendments were once read throughout ; and then, a second time, one by one. Upon the question severally put thereupon, it was agreed to by the house ; and the bill, with the amendments, ordered to be engrossed. On the 18th of April, the engrossed bill was read the third time, was passed *nemine contradicente*, and ordered to be carried to the lords.

§ 151.

HERE more difficulties were expected from the bench of bishops ; since one article of the bill was, that the Brethren are an episcopal church. But it was soon found, that, at a meeting at the arch-bishop's, on the 8th of April, after reading the bill of the house of commons, they had agreed not to oppose the Brethren. Only the old venerable bishop of *London*, Dr. *Sherlock*, was of another opinion ; and, at first, no remonstrances were of any avail. The ordinary, who appeared but little during the whole negotiation, wrote, on that account, to the bishop of *Lincoln*, who understood the German language, to procure him an interview with the bishop of *London*, in order to remove his scruples. But, on seeing the report, he had already given them up, and became, and continued from that time, a firm friend of the Brethren.

April the 21st, the bill was carried by sixteen members of the house of commons to the house of lords ; and, after a short address of lieutenant-general *Oglethorpe* to my lord chancellor *Hardwicke*, accepted with the usual solemnity, and laid upon the table. On a motion made by the earl of *Halifax*, president of the board of trade, it was immediately read the first time ; and, April the 23d, the second time. It was found proper once more to examine the affair in a committee of the whole house. In the mean time, several objections had been suggested, not so much against the contents of the petition, as against certain rights and immunities

ties flowing from the nature of the thing ; and, therefore, a new examination of the documents was expected. May the 7th, the committee of the whole house was held, the earls of *Warwick* and *Holland* being in the chair. My lord chancellor spoke first, and raised important objections to some points. These were answered, in a convincing speech, by the earl of *Granville*, president of the privy-council. He was supported by the earls of *Halifax* and *Sandys*, the duke of *Argyle*, one of the most eminent of the Scotch members ; by my lord *Bathurst*, and the earl of *Bath* ; and, lastly, by the bishop of *Worcester*, who bestowed upon the church of the Brethren great encomiums. The duke of *Newcastle*, secretary of state, was at first against it. But, having heard all these speeches, he proposed postponing the examination until the 12th of May, and, in the interim, to word some expressions, which caused demur, otherwise. In the mean time, the ordinary wrote to my lord chancellor, that, if he, on account of his office, could not give up his scruples, he would drop the whole affair, having, by the examination, in which all the points asserted had been found true, obtained that which he properly sought. But my lord chancellor answered, that he had no objection to the thing itself, but to some expressions only, which might give occasion to misconstructions, and cause abuse of the act, and which were easily to be altered. On the 12th of May, (a day singularly remarkable in the church of the Brethren for several important reasons, § 9, 10, 16,) after an introductory speech of the earl of *Halifax*, the alterations being read and approved of, and, after a speech of the bishop of *Worcester*, in which he declared the approbation of all the bishops, the question being put, the bill was passed in the house of lords also, *nemine contradicente* *.

* The *Act* has been several times printed, both in English and in Latin ; and has been likewise published in German, as a supplement to the *Account of the Church of the Brethren of 1757* ; and in French in 1758.

On the 14th of May, the bill was sent, with the amendments, from the lords to the house of commons; and, on the 19th, the house proceeded to take into consideration the amendments made by the lords, and the said amendments were read; and being severally read a second time, were, upon the question severally put thereupon, agreed to by the house, and ordered to be sent to the lords, and to acquaint them that the house had agreed to the amendments made by their lordships; and, on the 6th of June, the Royal assent was given to it with the usual words on occasion of public acts, *Le Roy le veut*.

§ 152.

THUS, after strict and repeated examination, which was the primary view of this negotiation, the Brethren were acknowledged to be an ancient Protestant episcopal church; those of its members, who made a scruple of taking an oath and bearing arms, were exempted from them; instead of the national name, *Moravian Church*, its ancient name, *Unitas Fratrum*, was received; and thus the United Brethren of the English and other nations, made joint partakers of their rights and privileges. But, in order to prevent persons from laying unjust claims to, and turning them to a wrong use, the bishops and ministers of the church of the Brethren, whose names should, from time to time, be notified by the *Advocate of the Brethren* to the *Board of Trade and Plantations*, were authorized to give a certificate to every actual member of the Unity that is desirous of taking the benefit of this act. All the members of parliament, spiritual and temporal, episcopal and presbyterian, were unanimous in this affair, and some urged it with great zeal. The ordinary had, in particular, the pleasure to enter into an useful acquaintance and correspondence with some bishops. He also laid before them, after the negotiation was finished, the doctrine and constitution of the church of the Brethren, as

a supplement to the *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia**; in which the *doctrinal articles of the Augustan confession* make the first piece: for, upon this, and no other confession, would the Brethren be acknowledged and received in England. Those, therefore, have been wrongly informed, who are of opinion, that the Brethren had not till now sought to gain admission in the English dominions; but, before it was granted, had been obliged to deliver in a confession, and, as they did not do this to satisfaction, had been under a necessity to explain themselves more fully. For the Brethren were long before known and settled in the dominions of Great Britain. They delivered no particular confession, but that of Augsburg; and the farther explication of their doctrine and constitution was not *required* by the bishops; but, after the act had been passed, it was voluntarily drawn up by the ordinary, and printed.

Many invitations to the Brethren followed upon this, to settle in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, the county of Cumberland, and in the American provinces, Maryland, North Carolina, and Nova Scotia. However, no settlement has been made but those in *Ireland* and in *North Carolina*. In Scotland, indeed, the land offered by the duke of *Argyle* was viewed; but the Brethren had already more upon their hands, than they were able to execute for the present; and, but that very spring, just at the beginning of the negotiation with the parliament, a considerable colony had sailed for *Pennsylvania*, conducted by *John Nitschmann*.

§ 153.

SOON after this affair was terminated, the ordinary visited the Brethren's congregations in *Yorkshire*, *Bedford*, and

* The title of this treatise, consisting of six parts, is, *An Account of the Doctrine, Manners, Liturgy and Idiom of the Unitas Fratrum, &c.*

Wiltshire; and, on his return, had an important conversation with the bishop of *Lincoln* at his palace at *Bugden*. In the autumn of 1749, a synodal conference was held at *London*. Among other things, in the stead of the Rev. Dr. *Cochius*, dean of the king of Prussia's chapel, who this year departed this life, the administration of the Reformed tropus in the Unity of the Brethren (§ 86. N. 32.) was tendered to, and accepted by, the bishop of *Sodor and Man*, *Thomas Wilson*. The ordinary held daily meetings in his house in *Bloombsbury-square*, without the least disturbance; but none were admitted, except the English labourers and helpers. In the chapels of the Brethren in *Fetter-Lane* and *White's Alley*, the sermons were well attended; and in the former, the gospel was preached also in German. Some Baptists, Quakers, and others, frequented the preaching of the Brethren.

In *Ireland*, where the Rev. *John Cennick* began to preach in the year 1746, (§ 135.) a congregation of the Brethren was settled at *Dublin*, in the year 1750, by the co-bishop *Peter Bæblier*. In the North of Ireland, six Brethren preached in above forty places, having often to preach in three or four places in a day. The number of their hearers amounted sometimes to two or three thousand; and when houses and barns were not large enough, they were obliged to preach in the fields; by which means they were often exposed to the maltreatment of the populace. This way of preaching was by no means pleasing to the ordinary; but could not be altered at that time, till the too great concourse of people abated a little; when the awakened souls were settled in regular societies in their respective places, and by degrees preparations could be made for the building of chapels. The chief residence of the labourers was at *Gloonen*, where they met every month at a conference, and then separated again to their posts. They lived in the greatest poverty, and had to endure many hardships, proceeding from their poor diet, and hard way of living.

§ 154.

SCARCELY was the Brethren's church, after previous examinations, acknowledged in Saxony in 1748, and in England in 1749, and the necessary privileges granted; but, in the beginning of the year 1750, a long impending storm broke forth upon the congregation at *Herrnhaag*. The opportunity given for it was, towards the end of the year 1749, the decease of count *Ernest Casimir of Ysenburg Buedingen*, who, by a contract made April the 22d, 1738, had sold to the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren a piece of land for the building of the congregation-place *Herrnhaag*; and, besides the necessary civil liberties, granted them full liberty of conscience and religion. "But*, since various difficulties arose on their part" (on the part of government), "from whence in future still greater inconveniences were to be apprehended;" this contract was entirely abrogated and cashiered by a new one, dated January the 1st, 1743, signed by the count of Buedingen and his three sons; in which they declared, that they were "fully convinced," not only from the good testimonies of the Brethren alledged in the first contract, but now much more so "from their own writings in public print, as, *The Moravian Manual of Doctrine*, &c. and by their own doctrine, life and conversation in their territories, for the space of four years, to acknowledge them to be a true, pure, evangelical congregation, according to the order and discipline of the episcopal Moravian church,—and to allow them the free exercise of religion—together with the whole order, privileges, and constitution of their church," which, both in civil and ecclesiastical matters, are mentioned more largely in this contract. At the same time, the castle of *Leusstadt*, and other estates, with the grant of particular privileges and im-

* These are the very words of the contract of January the 1st, 1743.

munities, were mortgaged, for a considerable loan, to a creditor in Holland. (§ 108.) But these immunities, at the ensuing change of the government, gave occasion to various dissatisfactions, of which the inhabitants of Herrnhag also suffered their share. Divers things were required of them, which, according to the contract, they could not comply with ; and then, as it may easily happen in such cases, many things may have occurred, which incensed government still more against them. The ordinary endeavoured to compromise the differences, both with the creditor in Holland and the Brethren, in an amicable manner ; and, on the 21st of February, 1748, effected a stipulation and agreement with the government, that, until a farther examination and final accommodation of the differences, every thing should remain at Herrnhag, for the space of five years, in the present state. But as the above-mentioned mortgage was actually paid off, and the Brethren urged the repayment of the capital at the promised term, in order to fulfil their engagements in another place ; (§ 142.) great displeasure fell upon the ordinary on that account, for which the inhabitants of Herrnhag had to suffer anew. These insisted upon their contract ; but were, as I have been informed, not cautious enough in their expressions ; and many acted in that respect not always agreeably to the duties laid down in holy writ for subjects towards their rulers, and towards those that are put in authority over them. At the same time, a sifting broke out in the congregation, which shall, with its melancholy consequences, be related hereafter. The extravagances attending it, both in doctrine and practice, and the dissatisfaction of a great part of the Brethren at Herrnhag on that account, could not remain unknown at Buedingen, and brought the proper instruments of these disturbances upon the scheme of promoting a separation of the greatest part of the inhabitants of Herrnhag from the church of the Brethren. By this means they thought to wound the ordinary

in the most sensible part. While the old count was alive, they could find no proper occasion for it. It must be owned to his praise, that, notwithstanding all the adverse insinuations, and much disgust taken against the inhabitants of Herrnhag not without a cause, he faithfully took care to prevent the breaking out of this inimical disposition against the Brethren. But, immediately after his decease, they made use of the homage to be paid to the new sovereign, as the first opportunity that offered for giving full vent to their ill-will and resentment. They succeeded in this, to the entire ruin of Herrnhag, and, of consequence, to the unavoidable damage of their too good-natured sovereign, who was too easily led by them.

§ 155.

THEY set about it in the following manner. January the 9th, 1750, the elders of the congregation at Herrnhag were commanded by the regency to hold themselves in readiness to do homage to the new sovereign, count *Gustavus Frederic*; and, for this purpose, to send in an authentic list of all the grown inhabitants of the male sex, of what rank and quality soever. This was done with all due obedience on January the 11th; but the Brethren requested, at the same time, that, instead of an oath, a solemn promise, by giving their hands, might be accepted; and that such as were no resident subjects, but strangers, might be exempted. From hence the regency took occasion to return, on the 16th of January, to the elders a threatening answer, full of accusations of various kinds, using the injurious appellation of a new, unheard-of sect; with orders to read this resolution, together with the form of homage annexed, to all the inhabitants. They were to promise, in this form of homage, among other things, “ That, in their establishment
“ and constitution, they neither did, nor would, desire to
“ be

“ be in subordination to the count of Zinzendorf, or to
 “ such as, by his direction, and the direction of those be-
 “ longing to him, or of their leaders, were rulers and
 “ elders.” Upon this, the elders made a proper remon-
 strance, dated January the 20th, that they would, instead
 of an oath, promise all due obedience ; but that they could
 not do homage in the manner prescribed, giving up the li-
 berty of conscience granted them in the contract, and
 submitting to the accusation of being a sect not founded up-
 on sacred writ, and not comprehended in the peace of *West-*
phalia * ; neither could they understand, why they were to
 renounce the count of Zinzendorf and their rulers and elders,
 who never had assumed any worldly government and autho-
 rity in civil matters over them ; and therefore they requested,
 that the form of homage, usual in the whole Roman empire,
 might suffice ; and that the space of time, promised in the
 year 1748, during which every thing should remain in its
 first state, might be employed for a more solid examination
 of the accusations alledged. The answer of the regency, of
 January the 22d, attempted to prove the accusations, toge-
 ther with still more of them, and in terms still much more
 severe ; rejected the desired examination, from the motive,
 that every thing was sufficiently set forth and decided
 in the controversial writings ; and positively commanded
 them to renounce the count of Zinzendorf, their elders
 and leaders, with the strictest orders to read the form of
 homage, without farther delay, to the whole congregation.
 This was done, January the 23d, with the exhortation,
 that every one should consider well of it, and then freely
 declare his mind before a notary and witnesses. All un-
 animously declared, that they could not, in conscience, do
 homage in this manner, and addressed an humble petition,
 dated January the 26th, to the reigning count, explaining

* The peace of Westphalia determined what religions should
 be tolerated in the Empire. (The Editor.)

their mind concerning the accusations, and once more requesting, that the homage universally usual might be accepted, and the differences examined and adjusted during the three years of the term still remaining. All this, in an answer of the 2d of February, was, with a repetition of the accusations, flatly refused; and, with regard to the homage required of them, no more than four days allowed for consideration. The congregation made, on the 6th of February, another remonstrance, that the prescribed form of homage was contrary to their consciences, contrary to truth, to the contract, and to all usage in the Roman empire; replied to the accusations again imputed to them, and entreated, in the most moving manner, for a longer time for examination. But this and other remonstrances remained unanswered until February the 18th.

In the interval, an Instrument was drawn up by an Imperial notary public, before witnesses, and signed by all the adult male inhabitants of the place. They promise in this instrument, (1.) To do homage, and to yield obedience *in all things* to their new sovereign *alone*. (2) They again avow the doctrine of the holy scriptures, and of the Augustan confession. (3.) They declare, that, and why, they cannot renounce their teachers; and testify in particular, (4) That they acknowledge the ordinary of the Brethren to be a faithful servant of God; and that, should even he disengage himself from them, they could not, by any means, admit of it, in ecclesiastical and œconomical matters, in which he had hitherto shown great fidelity towards them; and, finally, (5) That neither he, nor any other of their teachers, had ever required of them any subjection; but had, at all times, directed them to be obedient, faithful, and useful subjects to the sovereign of the country.

§ 156.

BEFORE this instrument could be delivered in, (for every thing was done with the greatest precipitation) the inhabitants of Herrnhaag received orders to appear, all together, on the 18th of February, in their hall, and to hear the last resolution of the government. Notwithstanding all the remonstrances, assurances of subjection, and petitions for an examination of accusations, and for the accommodation of the differences still subsisting, a printed proclamation, dated February the 12th, 1750, was read to them, in which the above-said contract of the year 1743, signed by the reigning count and his heirs, was passed over in silence; and, on the contrary, several very insignificant conditions, which were said not to have been fulfilled, were alledged out of the contract of 1738, which had been cancelled; and then various unproved and unheard-of accusations alledged; against which the Rev. *Samuel Lieberkuehn*, minister of the congregation, immediately protested in the name of the congregation. On account of these things it was, that near a thousand faithful and profitable subjects, having been received but twelve years ago, after mature consideration and examination, as a true, pure, and evangelical church, and even seven years ago, after a repeated examination of their doctrine and constitution, life and conversation, acknowledged from self-conviction, confirmed, and endowed with still more privileges, as an episcopal church; (§ 154.) were now, without farther examination and proof, merely upon the accusations and declarations of their adversaries, pronounced an erroneous, new religion, without foundation in the word of God, and not tolerated by the laws of the Roman empire. Since they, therefore, could no longer be suffered to live in a country, where, for many years, people of various sects had found shelter; they were ordered to leave it within the space of three years; and, on the other hand, all liberty and protection of the government

2

promised

promised to all that would renounce their rulers and elders, abandon the hymns and doctrinal books of Herrnhut *, and join with the Reformed or Lutheran churches in the country,—or even, without any external engagement with this or the other religion (and therefore, after the manner of the Separatists and other sects tolerated in the country) would chuse to have in stillness their own way of worship according to their knowledge; and all, who had filled offices in the congregation, were forbidden, at their peril, to dissuade or hinder any one from it. The above-mentioned notary's instrument, indeed, was, on the part of the congregation, presented, and, after some difficulties, received; but without effect. The proclamation was distributed among all the inhabitants, affixed to the public places, nay, even to the apartments of persons of high rank, and printed in the news-papers.

The impending storm being thus broken forth, the congregation could now breathe more freely, and had leisure to call to mind, and make an humble confession of, their manifold faults and mistakes; and, after obtaining pardon and a new assurance of the grace of God, could take all these things, as a gracious correction, out of his hands; but consider themselves, at the same time, as an exiled congregation, innocently suffering in the main point. For if we consider this whole catastrophe, from the beginning to the end, together with all the secret springs, which we are not willing to expose; we can regard it in no other light, than that of a persecution merely on account of religion; and accordingly, the rescripts, even the very last, after the total evacuation of Herrnhag, dated March the 28th, 1753, were so full of invectives against the doctrine and constitution of

* There are no books at all extant under this title, except *The Moravian Manual of Doctrine*, being a *Catechism*, published in the year 1740, which consisted wholly of Bible-sentences; and concerning which it was positively asserted in the contract of 1743, that, according to the same, the doctrine of the Brethren had been examined, and found orthodox.

the church of the Brethren, that we cannot but admire the patience with which they heard, and were silent to, them. What contributed greatly to this behaviour of the congregation, was, that bishop *Johannes de Watteville*, who, a few days before the order given for the emigration, was returned from his visitation in America, and come hither, several times delivered his sentiments to the congregation concerning this event, both before and after it, by occasion of the daily words, which, from the beginning of the year, treated of the persecutions of the church of Christ; admonishing the Brethren, in particular, not to murmur at it, or to think and speak in an unbecoming manner of the sovereign of the country, who, no doubt, had been imposed upon by bitter enemies of the Brethren.

§ 157.

ALL the inhabitants of Herrnhag, therefore, resolved to suffer in silence; not to accept the overture made by the regency, of staying, on condition of renouncing their elders and rulers; to relinquish their fine houses and well constructed workshops and manufactures; in the name of Jesus to take their staves in their hands, and to pray for those that drew these sufferings, and this great loss of their property, upon them. I have been assured by many that were present, that, on this occasion, the peace of God was diffused over the whole congregation in a remarkably powerful manner.

Three days after the order for emigrating, ninety single Brethren made the beginning, and went to Pennsylvania. The rest of the inhabitants moved by degrees into other congregations, in Saxony, Silesia, Holland, &c. which thus received a considerable encrease of useful members. The children's æconomies were transplanted chiefly upon the countess of Zinzendorf's estates in Upper Lusatia. Since in Wetteravia the Brethren were subject to many difficulties, and could not but expect more; part of the pædagogium
were

were removed from Marienborn, and part of the institution for the education of small children, from Lindheim, to count Gerfsdorf's school-institution at *Ubyß*, and from thence afterwards to *Niesky*; part of them to *Ebersdorf* and *Barby*, and from thence to *Groß Hennersdorf*. All the circumjacent parts lamented this unexpected change; and especially the subjects of the count of Ysenburg Buedingen, who heretofore had presented a complaint against their sovereign to the Imperial chamber of justice at *Wetzlar*, concerning the settlement of the Brethren, (§ 93.) and had given them much trouble, now saw, with grief, the loss which they sustained in their livelihood, made complaints of it to their superiors, and wished for the restitution of the Brethren; and to this day they flatter themselves with the hopes of it on every favourable appearance, and behave in a friendly manner towards the Brethren. Neither was it the intention of the regency at Buedingen, which expected nothing less than that all the inhabitants, without exception, should emigrate, and not one be induced by the fine houses and business, to offer to stay. Since they could not comprehend this, another edict was printed and published on the 13th of March 1750; in which the elders of the congregation were charged with perplexing the minds of the inhabitants by various artifices and false representations, and with sending them out of the country; and the assistance of the government against all their cunning and power, was once more promised to all that would stay. Although this charge was sufficiently refuted on the spot, by producing a declaration, signed before the Imperial notary public and witnesses, by all who had hitherto emigrated, that they left the country without persuasion and compulsion, of their own free choice, and for conscience sake; yet this opprobrious edict was forced upon all the Brethren, and, together with the former, posted in all public places and on the highways. Notwithstanding this, several, who were about to depart, applied to government about the very same time, and, after a strict examination and many persuasive

persuasive arguments, obtained the desired passports, as was always the case afterwards.

I know but of one person, who suffered himself to be persuaded to renounce the ministers of the Brethren's congregation; but he soon repented, and, having asked the Brethren's pardon for this injury, as he believed it to be, went to live under another government. A few children were taken away by their parents who lived at a distance; but they very soon brought them again to the œconomies, showing their sorrow for having done so. On the other hand, there came a great number of strangers, some of them persons of distinction, to see with their own eyes, what they could not believe, how the Brethren, now, even under reproach and loss, approved themselves as servants of God. Many asked leave to stay with the Brethren, and expressed themselves to this effect: *Whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge: thy people shall be my people; and thy God, my God: where thou diest, will I die, and there will I be buried.* (Ruth i. 16, 17.) But they, and, among others, on the 6th of April, twelve couples of married people, who, since the edict of emigration, came to stay, were advised to return to their places of abode, and to serve their and our Saviour in stillness. But still the number of those, who, in the year 1750, came to Herrnhag to stay and emigrate with the Brethren, amounted to thirty-five; and above four hundred and seventy persons emigrated this first year.

§ 158.

THE Brethren might, indeed, have conceived well-grounded hopes of being protected by law in their possessions, and in the liberties obtained by a solemn contract. It was even intimated to them, that, if they chose to insist upon their rights, they should not want support and assistance. But they had no freedom so to do, since they considered this event as a gracious chastisement from an higher hand, and therefore chose rather to bear patiently the injury done

done to them by men. They also received invitations from several sovereigns, to settle in their dominions. But most of them chose to move into the congregation-places already established. Only the French Reformed Brethren and Sisters, by the interposition of the ordinary, as advocate of the Brethren, accepted the invitation to *New Wied*; but made no preparation for building there, until the doctrine and constitution of the Brethren had been solidly examined.

Thus, the three years, allowed for emigrating, being elapsed, all the houses of Herrnhag stood empty. On the part of Buedingen much pains has been taken to fill them again. Various sorts of people were found from time to time, who settled there. But, not being able to find their livelihood and fulfil their engagements, they always went away again. This occasioned the government to make enquiry of the Brethren, whether they would not again take possession of the houses, which still remained the property of the expelled inhabitants? Accordingly, the Brethren have entered into treaty with the government: but it always came to nothing.

I will conclude the article of *Herrnhag* with the words of the ordinary taken from the recapitulation of the most memorable occurrences of the year 1750, at the close of that year: “ I consider the emigration of the Brethren from
 “ Herrnhag, as a deliverance from danger. It had, indeed,
 “ but a gloomy aspect in the beginning. But it is certain, that
 “ it was a dangerous station for us. I shall, as long as I
 “ live, reckon this event among the particular favours, and
 “ not among the oppressive circumstances, which are attend-
 “ ed in the sequel with pain and concern. The grievous
 “ part of it was at the time when the chastening was felt.
 “ But afterward it has, and will yield the peaceable fruit of
 “ righteousness unto them that were exercised thereby; and
 “ we all shall receive a benefit from it: not to mention
 “ what servants and handmaids our Saviour has prepared there
 “ for his service,—and that there the hidden defects of,
 “ and

“ and the secret dangers in, his congregation broke out
 “ at the right time, and afforded matter for repentance;
 “ which defects and dangers, indeed, in all our congrega-
 “ tions, had a tendency to a sifting, but likewise to a deeper
 “ knowledge of our own hearts.”

§ 159.

By the breaking out of secret dangers, and of a sifting the ordinary means the extravagances of some Brethren, both in doctrine and practice, mentioned towards the end of § 154, which, from the year 1746 to 1750, made their appearance first at Herrnhag, and afterwards in the rest of the congregations. But I must previously relate what gave occasion to these extravagances. The ordinary, after his return from America in the year 1743, was obliged to engage in many difficult and intricate affairs, relating to Wetteravia, Gotha, Brandenburg, and Livonia. (§ 105 and following.) Many writings of adversaries, and many libels appeared in public; and it could scarcely be supposed otherwise, than that the congregation, in many places, was at the eve of a persecution. The great accession from other places, and the vast encrease of the congregations, made the ordinary apprehensive of danger. The Brethren received invitations to settle colonies in other countries, all of which could not be declined without serious consideration. In order, therefore, to avoid perplexity in so manifold difficult circumstances, he came to a conclusion with his nearest assistants, that, instead of entering into anxious cares, and thus embarrassing their affairs still more, they would, in all things, have a single eye to the issue which the hand of the Lord from time to time should point out to them, and that, like *babes*, (Νηπιοι, Matt. xi. 25.) they would resign themselves to the paternal care of him, who directed his disciples to behold the fowls of the air, with respect to unnecessary troubles,

troubles, and who, in order to prove them, asked, whence they should provide bread, though he himself knew what he would do. This confident resignation into the hands of God, made him and his assistants bold and chearful, in the midst of all the difficulties, and rendered their work easy.

There occurred, besides this, a certain remarkable circumstance. The ordinary had, during his abode among the various sects in Pennsylvania, acquired a farther insight, than he had before, into the emptiness and pernicious tendency of all the methods of sanctification, which are not, solely and alone, deduced from the merits of Jesus. On his return to Europe, finding many new inhabitants in the congregations, of several persuasions and forms; he was apprehensive of a similar evil; and therefore laboured against it in his discourses and hymns, endeavouring fully to enthrone the merits and wounds of Jesus; and showing that not only the forgiveness of sins and eternal salvation were to be deduced from thence, but that the cleansing from sin, and our true sanctification and preservation, flowed solely from this fountain. The subject of the blood and wounds of Jesus, particularly of the holy wound in our Saviour's side, became now (and especially, since the litany of the wounds of Jesus, mentioned in § 120, was published in the congregations,) the chief point in his discourses, and those of the rest of the labourers. The consequence of this was, that not indeed the matter, but the method, of the law, or the coercive and anxious means of attaining salvation and holiness, was laid aside in the congregation, and, instead of the many different methods, the one only way, to flee as a sinner to, and abide in, the wounds of Jesus, maintained its ground. The advantage of it was apparent. Many anxious minds attained to evangelical liberty; self-righteousness was exploded, and hypocrisy exposed; and such as took offence at this, went away.

The ordinary having, in an ode upon the birth-day of his son Christian Renatus, made use of these words: *A bird*
in

in the atmosphere of the cross, sick of love after the shrine of Jesu's side; (which expressions were intended to signify the same as is said in the Canticles: *O my dove, that art in the clefts of the rock*, (ch. ii. 14.) and whose serious meaning has been sufficiently vindicated in *Spangenberg's Apologetic Declaration*, against all the railleries drawn from them) a variety of parodies and imitations of this expression followed, which, though indeed not contrary to divine truth, yet were not agreeable to the simplicity and gravity of it, and gave occasion to many allusions which bordered closely upon trifling and folly. The ordinary, to whom nothing was more unbearable than hypocrisy, did not chuse to oppose this directly with that severity, which others thought necessary, lest such persons should learn the art of saving appearances, and be deterred from speaking according to the disposition of their hearts. He was of opinion that, if they were suffered to speak as they thought, not only others would obtain a better knowledge of them, but they also would learn by degrees to know themselves more deeply; and thus an opportunity would be found to put them wholesomely to shame at the proper time, and to lead them into another way of thinking and acting. But, if a matter were urged too soon, and a greater stress were laid upon church-discipline, than upon a true conversion of the heart; he judged this to be the way of making hypocrites. He used frequently to speak his mind upon this subject, not only in conferences with the labourers, but even in public discourses. This was in part misunderstood, and in part so badly applied, that some assumed so much the greater liberties, especially since the congregation-offices were not properly supplied, or, however, too much with young, unexperienced persons, and the conferences were not in the proper order.

§ 160.

IN this manner it was, that the topic of the discourses about this time, representing believers as playful children, rejoicing and recreating themselves, with full resignation, amidst all the difficult circumstances which may befall them; or as birds in the atmosphere of the cross of Jesus; or of doves flying to his wounds, as the clefts of the rock, gave occasion to a variety of abuses and excesses in words and actions, which, though indeed they did not break out in works of the flesh, punishable even in man's judgment, as some bitter enemies and calumniators have pretended, were yet sinful in the eyes of God, and deserving chastisement according to the rules of a congregation of Jesus. This evil appeared, first of all, in the year 1746, in Wetteravia, while the ordinary and most of the labourers were absent at the synod of Zeist and in England. Several labourers, indeed, gave serious admonitions against it, but effected not much more, than attempts to conceal the matter from them. As soon as the ordinary was, in part, informed of it, he, in the beginning of the year 1747, gave an earnest caution against such trifling and unmeaning expressions, in a discourse to his house at Marienborn, and in a serious letter to the labourers of all the congregations. This, and his presence at Herrnhaag in the year 1747, retarded, for some time, the breaking out of this evil. But, in the years 1748 and 1749, he, on account of the negotiations in Saxony and in England, being absent, and most of his eldest fellow-labourers being engaged, some in assisting him, and some in other parts of the world; the evil, which had been restrained by his earnestness, now, like a pent-up torrent, broke forth with the more violence. They began in such a manner to refine upon, and overcharge with various poetical figures and unintelligible expressions, the subject of the sacred wound made in the side of Jesus, that his precious merits were almost totally set aside. Each of this sort of
people

people strove to out-do the other in strange and unintelligible new expressions and poetical productions, deviating very far from the pattern of the old church-hymns, and the spiritual songs hitherto in use in the congregations of the Brethren. Others, who had formerly read mystical books, brought all manner of fanatical ideas upon the carpet. Many who had had a legal education, (and this was the most surprising of all,) from a gloomy, self-working spirit still cleaving to them, fell, all at once, into a liberty equally unbecoming children of God, which, in some, proceeded even to a licentious impudence. A certain spirit of sifting and temptation, infusing this poison, under a specious appearance, with an inconceivably captivating power, into every one that kept not a strict watch over his heart, ran, like wild-fire, through more congregations. A great part of the Brethren and Sisters were carried away by it; and others, being no longer able to withstand the torrent, could do no more than sigh and weep. Some, who looked upon the malady as incurable, left the congregation *. At length, a full account of these melancholy circumstances came into the hands of the ordinary, in the year 1749, at London. He endeavoured, first of all, to remove this evil by a severe letter to all the congregations, and afterwards, by dispatching for this end some Brethren to the German congregations; which also had the desired effect. His son-in law, bishop *Johannes de Watteville*, having finished his visitation of the congregations and missions in America, being returned to London, he gave him a commission to make a journey through all the congregations, to speak with every member of

* The beginning of this sifting did not arise from irreligious principles; nor did it end in immoral practices. The cause of it was an extravagant and fanatic joy, which gave occasion to inconsiderate expressions. A certain joyous perfection was eagerly pursued; which, however, was not attained to: since the depth both of human depravity, and of the atonement and sanctification through the blood of Christ, which twofold knowledge can alone produce and preserve a true and solid peace of mind, was forgotten.

them ; and, in an affectionate, but at the same time earnest manner, to lead them again into the pure evangelical way. In the summer of 1750 he went himself to Germany to the synod to be held at *Barby*, which in 1751 was concluded at *Herrnhut* ; and took occasion, both in the synodal conferences and declarations, and in his discourses to the congregations and the choirs, also in conversation with individuals, to pour out his heart upon this head. Our Saviour gave grace, that almost all, that had taken a share in these excesses in doctrine and practice, acknowledged their error with shame, sought, and found forgiveness with Jesus. Such, upon whom it had not this effect, went away. But those labourers, in whom a relapse was to be apprehended, were dismissed from their offices.

§ 161.

THUS, the hidden dangers, like a long lurking malady, slowly operating to destruction, were, at the right time, brought to light, and, upon a solid acknowledgment of the deviations, with many penitential tears, removed. I must still add, that the deliverance from this dangerous situation, proved, to many friends and spectators, who were hitherto wavering, the most evident demonstrations of the Brethren's congregations being not the work of men, but of God ; or else, the whole fabric would infallibly have gone to ruin. But yet, the after-pains lasted longer ; and, to this day, serve as a salutary remembrance, and as a warning against all hurt, which may be apprehended from the imperfection of a congregation and the indwelling sin of its members. One of the melancholy consequences of it was a torrent of controversial writings, which about this time overran all Germany and other countries. A difference must, however, be made between these writings. Of some it may be said, that they have been of advantage to the Brethren in various ways. They have showed them their deviations, though not from the only ground of salvation, yet from the simple scriptural

scriptural way of teaching; and that they had, by word and walk, imprudently caused offence and a stumbling to many innocent and not rightly informed persons. This has made them to be ashamed before God, and to become more circumspect in their words and actions. But it may, with truth, be asserted of most of those writings, that they are filled with glaring falsifications of words, or perversions of their meaning, false conclusions, and impudent lies and calumnies. Although we could not but say, even with respect to this sort of publications, as David said of Shimei: *So let him curse, because the Lord hath said unto him, Curse David;* (2 Sam. xvi. 10.) yet they may, boldly and without scruple, be numbered among the revilings for the sake of the name of Christ; since they originated in an enmity against the simple doctrine of the cross and the merits of Jesus, and, by their clamours, aimed at the dissipation of the cloud of witnesses, which withstood, with emphasis and good effect, the Deism and Atheism of high-soaring philosophical minds, the Pelagianism, again breaking in like a flood, and the Pharisaism of the self-righteous world. The envy of the old, the ambition of many young, and the avarice of many necessitous writers, have, through the genius of the present times, equally satirical and carnal, produced writings, which after-ages will be more ashamed of, than the present world is of the old trials of witches, and of the barbarism in the religious controversies about the beginning of this century. Some of them also are so full of obscenity, and of bitter deistical raileries upon the sacred person of Jesus, that honest people, though prejudiced against the Brethren's congregation, are ashamed of them, nor will suffer others to read them, to avoid giving them offence.

This sort of writings did no great damage to the congregation itself. They rather kept many from it, who loved the praise of men more than the praise of God. But yet, many simple and sincere souls out of the congregations were offended by them, mislaid to many uncharitable censures of,

and trespasses against, a work of God which they otherwise had a respect for; and thus were with-held from the universal band of brotherly love and unity, according to John xvii. Many, and often almost insurmountable, difficulties were, by this means, laid in the way of the furtherance of the gospel among the Heathen. It is also a very grievous circumstance, that many sensible persons of various ranks and religions, who were not willing to be charged with being too easy of belief, on a closer enquiry into the matter, and by personal acquaintance with the Brethren, became altogether mistrustful of, and enraged against, the authors of such writings, by which they had been deceived; and thus, alas! entirely lost the small remains of respect for the ministers of their religion, and at last were quite at a loss, what and whom they were to believe.

§ 162.

WITH a view not to promote this evil, and not to expose any farther many divines, useful in other respects, to their hearers, the Brethren chose to be silent for a time to the accusations against them, in the firm hope, that He, who judgeth righteously, would, in his own time, plead their cause. But, since many friends urged it, that at least the principal charges of the adversaries should be answered; as the fine apology, published in 1745, intitled, *The Form of the Cross's Kingdom of Jesus in its Purity*, seemed already to be forgotten; the Rev. *Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg*, at his visit in the German congregations from America, published, in 1751, a *Declaration*, approved by the synod, *concerning the Accusations*, &c. with four appendixes. He, then, once more went through all the controversial writings, and, having extracted the accusations, laid them before the ordinary, though, for the most part, without mentioning the book and author; because the ordinary was not willing to be disturbed in the good opinion, love and regard, which he entertained for
many

many of the writers. Part of the accusations, Spangenberg himself replied to in his *Apologetic Declaration*. The rest he comprised in questions, and desired the ordinary to answer them. He immediately subjoined his answers to two hundred and twenty-four questions, relating to his person and actions. These, together with the *Apologetic Declaration*, were printed in 1751, under the title: *True Answers given to more than three hundred Accusations against the Ordinary of the Brethren*; together with twenty-four important appendixes, and, in the preface, some declarations of the ordinary concerning this controversy. At the synod at Barby in the year 1750, one hundred and sixty-one questions were laid before the ordinary, merely concerning theological accusations, and immediately answered by word of mouth in nine sessions, in the presence of all the synodal members; which, with all the less material questions, objections, and historical illustrations, were minuted by me, as proto-notary of the synod at that time. The remaining one thousand and thirty-seven questions, relative to a great variety of accusations, the ordinary answered from time to time in writing. These answers were published, in the year 1752, in *Spangenberg's Final Apology*; and make, together with seven large appendixes, four complete alphabets, without the preface and index. The *Literal Extract of the Minutes of the Synod*, in which the before-mentioned theological accusations are answered, is the fifth appendix, and alone takes up twenty-eight sheets. Among the appendixes, the ordinary's *Deduction to the privy council at Dresden, after the commission of 1732*, and his *Opinion concerning the way and manner of the controversies, for some time carried on against him*, together with a dedication to that board, afford the best light into the whole affair.

Add to these the writing of the Rev. *William Frederic Jung*, Lutheran minister at *Haynichen* in the county of *Hanau* in *Wetteravia*, intitled, *Dr. Luther, still living, teaching, suffering, and conquering, in the Count of Zinzendorf*,

which consists of mere parallel passages of the writings of Dr. Luther and the ordinary.

These apologies had a sufficient effect upon the impartial public, and the friends of the Brethren's congregations that were wavering for want of due information, and silenced for some time the spirit of contradiction and calumny.

A concise account of the controversy, with the remonstrances and examinations, from the beginning to the year 1750, is to be found in the IX. *Piece* of the *Natural Reflexions*, page 117 to 144.

§ 163.

It is now time to return, and to relate several particulars concerning such congregations and missions, as could not before be properly taken notice of in this Part, for the sake of the connexion. In *Silesia*, in the year 1747, *Polycarp Muller*, a bishop of the Brethren, entered into his rest. The ordinary advised to set, in his stead, a Lutheran ordained divine over the Silesian congregations of the Brethren, in order to unite them more closely with the Lutheran religion; as he had attempted to do in the years 1743 and 1744, according to § 112. For this end, the dean *Henry Gerner*, of Copenhagen, was called to be the superintendent of the churches of the evangelical Brethren in the dominions of the king of Prussia, in which capacity he received his commission from his king*. But this also met with so many difficulties, both on the part of the divines, and the Brethren, in *Silesia*, that the ordinary was obliged to give up his design. For, at the very time when the Rev. Dr. *Cochius*, dean of the Royal chapel, was, with the king's approbation, appointed antistes of the Reformed tropus, and in this quality was present at the synod in *Silesia*, some Lutheran ministers preached against the Brethren; and 2

* See *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia. Appendix*, p. 28 and 29.

certain clergyman, who would not declare himself against, and renounce all intercourse with, them, was deposed *. The Royal protection, indeed, deterred them from disturbing the newly established colonies ; but the Brethren living in other places were oppressed in various ways. Since the Moravian Brethren had the Royal grants of their privileges on their side ; the Herrnhuters and their emissaries were continually complained against, and adverse rescripts were surreptitiously obtained against them, which they contrived to apply to the so-called Moravian Brethren and their regular ministers. In this manner, in the year 1749, the minister of the congregation of Moravian Brethren at *Roßnitz* was driven away ; notwithstanding the Royal grant of 1743 for their place of worship, which, two years after, had been acknowledged and confirmed by a Royal commission. (§ III.) Young gentlemen were, contrary to the mind of their parents or guardians, taken away by their other relations from the Pædagogium of the Brethren, to prevent, as they pretended, their being educated in another religion. This was the cause of the Pædagogium being broken up, and the young gentlemen of other countries, who were educated there, being taken home by their friends.

In these circumstances, which were occasioned in a great measure by the enmity of the most eminent Lutheran divines, it could not reasonably be taken amiss of the Brethren in Silesia, that they did not concur with the ordinary's laudable design of bringing them into a nearer connexion

* In the year 1748, the number of ministers of different countries amounted to no less than twenty, who, within three years, were either deposed, or had sought and obtained their dismissal, before they let it come so far ; for no other reason, but because they would not, contrary to their consciences, declare the Brethren to be erroneous. A lamentable fruit of religious animosity, and constraint of conscience ! And yet the constant complaint was, that the Brethren enticed away the sincere souls, and especially the most useful servants of God, and thus weakened the evangelical religion.

with

with the Lutheran church; but, in order to obtain peace, were, in pursuance of the first Royal grant, desirous of remaining exempted from the Lutheran consistories, and subordinate to the bishops of the Moravian Brethren's church. Dean *Gerner*, therefore, was again called away from Silesia, and, at the provincial synod in the year 1750, *John George Waiblinger* appointed bishop of the Brethren in Silesia, in the late Polycarp's stead.

§ 164.

As to the *Bohemian Brethren at Berlin*, who, till now, had been edified without much observation, I cannot omit this opportunity of mentioning a certain occurrence relating to them. They were obliged, in the year 1747, to declare themselves now publicly, before a Royal commission, in favour of the church of the Brethren, to which they had these many years privately adhered. The occasion to it was a division among the rest of the Bohemians concerning the holy communion. The case was this. Before the Bohemians of *Gerlachsdorf*, of whom we are now speaking, retired into the Brandenburg dominions, the Bohemians of *Grass Hennerdorf*, who, in 1732, came to Berlin, and, till 1735, were without a minister, held their meetings in a private house. Some of them had a great desire to receive the holy communion; but were not willing to go to any German minister. Coming one day from the town-house, and resorting to a tavern to take some refreshment, it came into their minds, that the Lord Jesus celebrated his last supper in an house of entertainment, and that they might do the same, without a regular minister. Having locked the door, prayed, and confessed their faults one to another, they spoke the words of institution, broke the bread, and divided it, as also the wine, among themselves, in remembrance of the death of Jesus. Some, whom they acquainted with it, joined them. Others were offended at it; and this was the beginning of the following divisions

sions among them. The former desired the Rev. Mr. *Macher*, whom they got in 1735, to break bread with them. He asked the opinion of divines about it, who advised him to the contrary; and he refused their request. But his successor, *Liberda*, enquired of the king, whether he might break bread to such as desired it, and distribute wafers to others that should request it? and obtained permission. He, therefore, held the holy communion, in the forenoon, with wafers, and in the afternoon, and sometimes in the evening too, with breaking of bread. They chose this time of the day, in order thus to distinguish themselves from the Reformed: for all of them chose then to be called Lutherans. But he could not, by this means, prevent divisions among them, and various disorders. All these things happened, before the Bohemian Brethren of Gerlachshiem came to Berlin; who, on account of these and other dissentions, being scrupulous of joining themselves to the other Bohemians, (§ 77.) adhered to their own minister, *Augustin Schulz*, and kept to the regulations introduced among them while in Saxony. After the death of *Liberda* in 1742, *Macher* was again appointed minister at the Bethlehem-church. He was now obliged to administer the Lord's supper to the Bohemians in the above-mentioned way; but could not forbear, in his sermons, and at the petitions for the communicants, making an unbecoming difference between them: at which some were so provoked, that they went to the Lord's supper in a German Reformed church. This was the beginning of the breaking out of a discord of twelve years continuance among the Bohemians of Gross Hennerdorf, upon which great disturbances followed. Those inclined to the Reformed religion, petitioned the king for a minister from *Lissa* in Poland, for the whole colony, and obtained his permission. Those who were inclined to the Lutheran religion, presented a remonstrance against it, and requested an examination. The king commissioned for this examination the field-marshal general, *De Kalkstein*, a Lutheran,

and the major general, count *Dohna*, a Reformed nobleman, with orders to examine the affair thoroughly, though without any formal and tedious law-proceedings; and to make their report. The commission was held in the month of March 1747. All the Bohemians of the male sex were ordered to appear, and to declare, whether they would be Lutherans or Reformed? Each party took pains to draw the Brethren to their side, that so the decision might be given in favour of the strongest party. The Brethren would have nothing to do with this idle contention, though it had, and might have farther, bad consequences. According to the roll, taken by the Royal commission, it appeared, that they declared themselves thus :

As Lutherans, at Berlin,	138	} Total 138.
at Ruekfsdorf,	—	

As Reformed, at Berlin,	129	} Total 133.
at Ruekfsdorf,	4	

As Bohemian-Moravian Bre-		} Total 179.
thren, at Berlin,	114	
at Ruekfsdorf,	65	

The Royal resolution followed on the 29th of March. According to this, the *Simultaneum** was intended to be introduced in the Bohemian church; the Reformed were to call a minister of their confession, and the Lutherans, to keep the Rev. Mr. *Macher*. As to the Brethren, a fuller declaration was required of them, in what manner they intended using their church-liberty. They declared, in a memorial of the 5th of May to the Royal commission, that they were descendants of the Brethren in Bohemia, and had, while in Saxony, lived in connexion with the Moravian Brethren at Herrnhut. They had at Berlin, as long as no division existed among the rest of their countrymen, attended the Bohemian religious worship in the Bethlehem-church,

* The *Simultaneum* is said to be introduced in a church, when it is used as a place of worship by different religious persuasions alternately, at stated hours or days; which is the case in many places abroad. (The Editor.)

and at Rueksdorf adhered to the Bohemian minister, *Augustin Schulz*; and all of them had received the holy communion of him. But they had, at the same time, continued among themselves the good regulations which they had while in Saxony; held their private meetings, and, for some years, had labourers from the Moravian Brethren. They were, therefore, not to be esteemed as novices and profelytes, but as Bohemian-Moravian Brethren of ancient times; and, as such, desired liberty for the public exercise of their religious worship. They requested, at the same time, that *Augustin Schulz* might be ordered to administer the sacraments to them, as hitherto; declaring, that they would keep to him as long as he lived, but, after his death, apply to the Moravian Brethren for a minister. Upon this memorial, they received a confirmation of their liberty, in which they have been protected by the field-marshal general, *De Kalkstein*, as patron of the Bohemian nation, against all the disturbances of the rest of the Bohemians.

§ 165.

IN the year 1748, the ordinary's son-in-law, bishop *Johannes de Watteville*, having visited the congregations in England, went, with his consort, on a visitation to America. One of his first businesses was, to take a journey to *Schomoko*, where, at that time, some Brethren lived with the sachem (chief) of the Oneyders, *Schikellimi*, (§ 104.) and made it their concern to promote the work of God among the Indians. With a view to visit all the places in the Indian country, where the Brethren had preached hitherto, and to bring the gospel to the Indians, he continued his journey up the *Susquehannah*, as far as *Wajomik*.

After a synod held at *Bethlehem* in October, he made a journey, with the co-bishop *Cammerhof*, from the 4th to the 31st of December, to the Indians, who, since the emigration from *Chekomekah*, (§ 139.) were scattered on the frontiers of the province of New York and of New England; and had

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the good fortune to meet with almost all of them in their dwellings and hunting-tents, and to gather them to *Pachgatgoch* and *Wechquatnach*, where some baptized lived together. They acknowledged the damage they had suffered in their dispersion, showed sorrow for their deviations, asked and obtained pardon. As many as were found in a proper state of heart, received the holy communion; and some of the catechumens were admitted to holy baptism. This unexpected favour and encouragement renewed their confidence, and they determined, partly, to move to their Brethren at *Gnadenhuetten*, in Pennsylvania, and partly, to continue together at *Wechquatnach* and *Pachgatgoch*, where they were visited, from time to time, by a minister; as was the case in the spring following, when twenty of them received holy baptism together. From that time, a Brother generally lived with them. When one of them, *David Bruce*, departed this life, his funeral sermon was preached by an Indian helper, in the presence of many white people, to whom the deceased brother had also proved a blessing. Some Indians, likewise, baptized by the Presbyterians, asked leave to move to *Gnadenhuetten*; but only a few of them could be admitted.

In the year 1749, fifty-seven Indians were present at the synod held at Bethlehem. Ten Indians, two Negroes, and eleven grown white persons of such persuasions, as have not infant-baptism, were baptized at that time. After this, *Johannes de Watteville* visited the country-congregations, and went, in April, on a visitation of the mission among the Negroes in *St. Thomas*. In the mean time, bishop *John Nitschmann* came from Europe with an hundred and twenty Brethren and Sisters, who increased the congregations at *Bethlehem* and *Nazareth*, and the smaller colonies, at *Gnadenthal*, *Christiansbrunn*, and *Gnadenhuetten* on the Mahony, and began the new colony at *Friedensthal*. At the return of *Johannes de Watteville* to Europe, in autumn 1749, the Indian congregation amounted to five hundred. Most of them were

were of the *Mahikanders* and *Delawares*. Among the latter, a great emotion of grace took place in the year 1748. There were also many of those called *Highlanders*, some *Wampagnoes*, and a firstling of the cruel *Schawanoes* among them. The work of God, since that time, has continued in blessing, and extended to *Wajomik*, and farther up the Indian country along the *Susquehannah*. Many came from thence, in the year 1750, on a visit to Bethlehem, to hear the gospel; and were also visited by the Brethren *John Frederic Cammerhof* and *David Zeisberger*, on their way, as deputies to *Onondago*, and to other chief towns of the Six Nations. Many also of those that lived among the white people in the *Ferseys*, came to the Brethren.

§ 166.

NOT far from Gnadenhuetten there was an Indian town, *Meniolagomekah*, in which the ordinary had made a visit in the year 1742. (§ 102.) The inhabitants, of the nation of the *Delawares*, often meeting with the Indian Brethren, when they were out a hunting, heard occasionally a testimony of Jesus, and frequented the preaching at Gnadenhuetten, by which means an emotion took place in that town. In the year 1748, the first-fruits, *Christian Renatus*; was baptized, and moved to Gnadenhuetten. The Indians on the *Susquehannah* did not like it; and a prophet arose among them, who pretended he had been in heaven, had spoken with God, learned many mysteries, and had been taught the way how they might come to God. This way consisted in a morality not despicable, according to the Indian manner of life. He, withal, warned the Indians against all commerce with the white people, and against their doctrine of the way of salvation. He gained many adherents, and sent his messengers to many places, to spread his doctrine. One of them preached also in *Meniolagomekah*, and came with his followers to Gnadenhuetten, in order to draw off
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the believing Indians from the Brethren. After they had heard his message, the before-mentioned Christian Renatus asked, "How the God looked, that appeared to the Indian prophet? and whether he had wounds?" No, answered he; he had heard nothing of that. "Then," replied our Indian, "it is not the true God, but the devil *." The messenger, confounded at this answer, went into the meeting of the Brethren, and, having had the way of salvation farther explained to him by the Indians, according to their own experience, spread it abroad in the whole country. Thus the design of the pretended prophet was frustrated. A solid awakening commenced in Meni-lagomekah, and this messenger was the first that was baptized. The chief of the town followed him, and in a few years there were not many who were not baptized. They got a teacher from Bethlehem, and regularly received baptism and the Lord's supper at Gnadenhuetten. But the land being sold in the mean time, they were obliged to leave it in 1754. Most of them moved to Gnadenhuetten; but some were dispersed among the savages, among whom they, by word and walk, caused a blessed emotion in several places; but were, by degrees, again entangled in many improper things, and thus suffered damage in their own souls.

§ 167.

THE missionary *Frederic Martin* was, in the year 1747, in Europe, on a visit from *St. Thomas*, and obtained at Copenhagen, on presenting a memorial to the king, a Royal rescript, of August the 18th, 1747, to the West India

* Just so, bishop *Martin of Tours* is said to have answered a spectre, that pretended to be the glorified Jesus, and required the honour of worship from him. The Indian had certainly never read or heard this. The answer flowed from his own heart, and was agreeable to the revelation according to the gospel. *They shall look upon me, whom they have pierced.* Zech. xii. 10. John xix. 37.

company, That the Brethren should carry on the mission among the Negroes in the three Danish islands, *St. Thomas*, *St. Croix*, and *St. Jan*, without molestation, and be protected by the government of these islands. At the same time, it was ordered, how things should be managed, with respect to supplying the place of the chief missionary, upon his decease; as also with regard to his adjunct, the deacons, and other assistants. In the year 1748, *Frederic Martin* returned thither, with some new assistants; but he was carried by French privateers into *Martinico*, yet soon set at liberty again. In the spring of 1749, bishop *Johannes de Watteville* came on a visitation to *St. Thomas*. He found that, for some years, the first fire of the awakening had abated, and but few Negroes had attained to holy baptism; that even many of the baptized had lost their confidence, being treated with too great rigour; and that the Brethren had, in some measure, lost their courage, and were grown remiss in carrying on the work of the Lord. But, since *Frederic Martin's* return, a new work of grace had taken place among the Negroes. It was, therefore, determined to treat the backsliders in an evangelical way; and, if they were heartily concerned for their deviations, to receive them again under their care and into their fellowship. By this means, an universal emotion was occasioned among the baptized, which spread itself even among the unbaptized catechumens, nay, among the Negroes all over the island. The meetings were attended every evening by between two and three hundred Negroes, and on Sundays, by between eight and nine hundred. On one congregation-day only, three hundred and eighty Negroes came, and desired that their names might be inserted in the list of the catechumens. At the end of the visitation, the number of unbaptized catechumens, who were visited and instructed by the Brethren, besides between two and three hundred children, amounted to nine hundred persons. The old, blind, and lame came creeping a great way, to be made partakers of holy baptism. During the eight weeks of this visitation,

above an hundred were baptized on the Negro-congregation-days. A congregation-day is held every four weeks, and not readily neglected by any one. On these days, besides the public preaching, particular discourses are delivered to the catechumens, the candidates for baptism, the baptized, the candidates for the Lord's supper, and the communicants. Many, besides, pour out their hearts in private conversations with the missionaries; and the Brethren, who serve the Negro-congregation, have often so little time on such days, that they can scarcely take any refreshment at all, till late at night. Then, also unbaptized mothers bring their newborn infants into the meeting, to be blessed by the missionary with laying on of hands, and thus received into the care of the Brethren. The missionaries had hitherto entertained scruples concerning baptizing Negro-children; but now it was resolved to baptize the children of the baptized soon after their birth, and to bless only the children of such parents as were not yet baptized. Johannes de Watteville went for some days to *St. Croix*, where, at that time, no missionary lived; but, nevertheless, the Negro-congregation was taken care of by some faithful and experienced helpers from among the Negroes. He also made a visit in *St. Jan*, where, for some years past, no missionary could live. The congregation there, which had consisted of three hundred Negroes, was dwindled away to fifteen. But measures were taken to supply both islands with missionaries; and, before the year was elapsed, an account was received of an hundred and fifty Negroes hearing the gospel in *St. Jan*. The governor of *St. Thomas*, and most of the owners of those Negroes, who attended the preaching of the Brethren, behaved, during the visitation, in a very friendly manner, gave good testimonies of their Negroes baptized by the Brethren, and begged earnestly, that the vacancies of the missionaries and their assistants, occasioned by death, might be speedily supplied again. In the seventeen years of this mission, near forty of the Brethren and Sisters sent thither were fallen asleep; and, in

1750, the missionary *Frederic Martin* followed them, having, in a continually weak and sickly habit of body, preached the gospel in St. Thomas fifteen years with blessing, and having made the beginning with the same in St. Croix, and St. Jan. The number of those that were baptized in that time, besides the children, amounted to above four hundred souls, of whom fifty and upwards were gone into eternity before him.

§ 168.

AFTER the Brethren had removed from *Surinam*, in the year 1745, some to Pennsylvania, some to *Berbice*, there remained five Brethren and a few Sisters in *Berbice*, now near eight years, without any visible blessing. They lived in great poverty, every thing in these parts being much dearer, than in Europe. They managed their plantation with their own hands; for they could keep no Negroes; and endeavoured to earn a little of the Europeans by their handiwork. They found no entrance among the Indians that live in the neighbourhood of the colonies, and understand some Dutch; and could not speak with the savages living at a greater distance. Providence pointed out a way to them, which they did not understand at first. Some Europeans desired them to take and educate their Mulatto-children, that is, those whose mothers were Indians; but this they did not like to meddle with. However, in the year 1741, they had taken a boy, of whom they learned, in a few years, so much of the language of the *Arawaks*, that they were able, with his help, to write down a summary of the Christian doctrine. With this writing a Brother ventured, from time to time, among the Heathen, sought them out in the vast wilderness, in a compass of three hundred English miles, from one place to another, and, having saluted them kindly, read

this writing to them, spoke upon it as well as he was able, and accompanied all with prayer and tears. As little as the Indians might understand of it at first, yet the behaviour of the Brethren pleased them, and they liked their visits. But as the female savages are used to run away, when strange men appear, so now a Sister also was obliged always to go with them. Such journeys were indeed very difficult. The Brethren were obliged to take their provisions with them every where, hang their hammocks for sleeping, for the most part, on trees in the wilderness, wade through broad rivers, or make in a hurry a float to ferry over, and often to go some miles before they met with an house. But the advantage of the Brethren's labour and pains, which at first seemed foolish, soon appeared. The Indians were desirous of more acquaintance with these white people, who behaved so kindly and discreetly, and wished to understand their words. They visited the Brethren. The Spirit of the Lord came upon the Mulatto-boy, and he spoke to the hearts of the savages in a striking manner. They were powerfully affected, and spread abroad the word they had heard from the Brethren, who now learned, better and better, to speak with them. More came to hear them, nor did the Brethren cease to visit them. In the year 1747, some of them built at *Pilgerbut*, near the Brethren, and in spring 1749, the first-fruits of the nation of the *Arawaks* were baptized. These were very old people, who brought their offspring with them to the fifth generation, of whom many were afterwards converted.

The settlement of the Indians with the Brethren was attended with many difficulties. When they left their home, and some of them their nearest relations and friends, and came to the Brethren, they were obliged first to cut down part of the wood, and, when it was dry, to burn it; plant

cassabi;

cassabi *; and, as it requires a whole year before it comes to maturity, to make hard shifts in the mean while. These difficulties prevented many awakened Heathen from leaving the wilderness; so, that in some the good seed was choked, and in others could not spring up soon. But both the baptism and the settlement of the Indians made a stir. Ill-disposed people endeavoured to seduce the Indians, and, when this would not do, to infuse an apprehension into them, that the Brethren intended to make them slaves. To the governor they complained of the concourse of the Indians, as likely to end in a rebellion. When they effected nothing even by this step, a certain clergyman consented to be used for transmitting various accusations against the Brethren to the classis in Holland, which he afterwards repented of.

Before the account of this awakening among the Indians came to the knowledge of the Brethren in Europe, it was thought proper to send a Brother from the seminary thither, who could more easily learn the language. *Theophilus Solomon Schumann*, late a tutor in the Protestant cloister of Bergen, was willing to go to Surinam. At his arrival in autumn 1748, he found above forty baptized. He made such proficiency in the language in one year, as to be able to speak with them without an interpreter, and to translate several portions of the holy scriptures. The number of the baptized now increased greatly. But, in the year 1749, a change took place in the government, which was attended with painful consequences to the mission, as we shall see in the next Part. But, notwithstanding this, the work of God made a blessed progress. For as the Brethren were not allowed any longer to visit in the country of the savages, the baptized and, in part, scattered Indians spread the gospel farther. The Indians of a Spanish province on the river *Ouranoque*, sent a great deputation to *Pil-*

* *Cassabi* is a root, which, being bruised, and all the poisonous juice pressed out, is dried like meal, and baked into cakes.

gerhut, to enquire more closely into what they had heard concerning the Brethren. The savages on the *Corentyn* did the same. Some staid, and others went to fetch their families. In this manner, the mission was increased, and spread also among the *Aquaies*, *Waraues*, and *Caribbees*.

§ 169.

THE mission in *Greenland* had rest, and made a blessed progress during these years, growing perceptibly, as in inward grace and outward good order, so in number. The missionary, *John Bek*, who had attended, in Germany, the printing of some translated hymns, brought, in the year 1747, an house, with a spacious meeting-hall, ready framed in Holland, to *New Herrnhut*, the house, built in 1733, having long ago been too small. *Matthew Stach*, with five Greenlanders, went with the same ship on a visit to the congregations in Europe, and was present at the commission in *Groß Hennersdorf*. Of these Greenlanders, *Simon Arbalik*, and, soon after, his wife, *Sarah Puffimek*, departed this life, and were interred in the burying-ground of the congregation at *Herrnhut*. With the three others, who were single, *Judith Iffek*, *Matthew Kajarnak*, and *Johanan Angusina*, (the last of whom was admitted to baptism in the congregation at *Herrnhaag*,) *Matthew Stach* went, in 1749, with the company mentioned in § 165, to *Pennsylvania*, and from thence to *Greenland*, on board the snow *Irene*, which the Brethren had built at *New York* for the more easy conveyance of their colonists to the American settlements. Thus, the Brethren at *Bethlehem* had the joy, as it was expressed in the *Philadelphian news-paper*, to see together Indians of three very different nations and tongues, but of like aspect, and of the same faith, viz. *Arawaks*, of the sixth degree of southern latitude, (this was the *Mulatto* of *Berbice*, mentioned in the preceding section, and another young female Indian,) *Mahikanders* and *Delawares*, of
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the forty-first, and *Greenlanders* of the sixty-fifth, degrees of northern latitude. This voyage to Greenland in a foreign ship occasioned a complaint at Copenhagen, which was the means of procuring, in the year 1750, a Royal regulative, with respect to the passage of the Brethren to and from Greenland, which proved a benefit to the mission of the Brethren, and cut off a variety of difficulties which they before laboured under. In the year 1751, the missionary, *Frederic Boehnisch*, who was come from Greenland in 1749, returned thither. On the other hand, the missionary, *Matthew Stach*, came away with his family, and sought an opportunity at London to go to the *Esquimaux*, in Terra Labrador. The Danish missionary, *Christian Laurence Drachart*, who had laboured with much blessing in his congregation above ten years in the Danish colony and mission at *Godhaab*, (or, *Goodhope*,) in exemplary harmony with the Brethren, went away with him, having before deposited the remains of his wife, as of the first European Sister, in the burying-ground of New Herrnhut, brought his children into the institutions at Herrnhut, and staid there himself with the king's consent. The congregation in Greenland, at the departure of the missionary Stach, amounted to upwards of three hundred baptized, forty of whom were already with the Lord; and about an hundred communicants. An inconceivable blessing for twelve years, considering the fewness, savageness, and stupidity of this nation; of which a farther account is given in the *History of Greenland*.

§ 170.

THE Brethren had many years wished to bring the gospel to the *Gebri*, or *Gauri*, in *Persia*, on the borders of *Indostan*, who are taken to be remnants of the Magi, or wise-men from the East, Matt. ii. (§ 86. N^o. 37.) In those countries, no foreigners find their maintenance better, than those who make profession of physic. The physi-

cian *Hokker*, and the surgeon *Rueffer*, were willing to go upon this undertaking, and were confirmed in it at the synod of Zeist. They travelled, in the spring of the year 1747, through Switzerland and Italy, to Leghorn; from thence, over the Mediterranean sea, to Alexandretta in Syria, and then by land to Aleppo, by way of Antioch. At Aleppo they heard of Schach Nadir's cruelties and death, and of the intestine broils which arose since. Notwithstanding this, they proceeded on their journey, partly by land with a caravan, and partly by water, to *Bagdad*. At the entrance into Persia, they were attacked by the *Curdi*, a thievish people. Their safeguard being dispersed, they were plundered, dangerously wounded, and almost stripped naked, and suffered greatly from the heat by day, from the cold by night, from hunger and thirst, and other hardships. In the beginning of November they were again attacked, and robbed of the little that was left, or bestowed upon, them by compassionate Mussulmen. In this condition they reached *Ispahan*, the metropolis of Persia, and were kindly received by some Europeans. The English consul took great pains to help them again to what they had lost, after the robbers were beaten, and their booty taken from them; and they were upon the point of receiving again part, of it: but another revolution deprived them of all. By money which some Englishmen there advanced them, and by practising in their profession, they were enabled to proceed on their journey. But certain news being received, that the *Gebri* were partly killed in the last war, partly dispersed, and the rest compelled to embrace the Mahometan religion; they determined to return. In June 1748, they left *Ispahan*, and staid a while at *Bassora*, having been again plundered by the way. Here an opportunity offered of going to Ceylon. *Hokker* had a great inclination for it. But as *Rueffer* was very desirous to return to his Brethren, they continued their journey, by way of *Bagdad*, to Aleppo. After long waiting for a ship bound to Europe, they went to Egypt. In

Damiata,

Damiata, Rueffer was taken sick, fell asleep July the 26th, 1748, and was interred in the burying-ground of the Greeks. Hokker pursued his journey alone, and returned to Herrnhag, February the 8th, 1750, having spent almost three years on this troublesome pilgrimage.

§ 171.

I WILL at present say no more of the work of the Lord in the Christian religions in Europe, than that the awakening among the Esthonian and Lettonian nations in *Livonia*, in which God had made use of the Brethren, (§ 70, and 116.) continued with blessing. The good testimonies which some noblemen delivered of their subjects at the Imperial court; the approbation given by a church-visitation of a certain parish, where the minister laboured with very great blessing; and the deputy *Arvid Gradin's* imprisonment of near four years, were the means which God made use of, for procuring rest to this awakening.

Gradin, who, in the year 1743, was deputed with a writing to the synod of the Russian church, (§ 117.) was, at his first coming to Petersburg, arrested, strictly examined, and, not till thirteen weeks after, bailed out of his close confinement. The writing to the synod, together with the minutes of his examination, and a memorial addressed by him to the government of the Russian empire, were sent in, and, after proper inspection, delivered to the synod; which, though it did not chuse to meddle with the desired examination, yet is said to have represented the matter to the empress in a favourable light. June the 21st, 1744, the deputy had a private interview with a member of the synod, the learned archimandrite and bishop of *Pleskov* and *Narva*, *Theodosky*, concerning his affair; and learned so much from him, that the synod could not concern

cern itself in the cause of the Brethren, not being of their church; but with respect to their doctrine, looked upon them to be Lutherans. He himself had found no difference in their writings from the Lutherans, except that they had a church-discipline, such as Luther had wished for, but did not bring to effect. Therefore he had replied to such as endeavoured to bring about their expulsion out of the country: ‘ If the Brethren were forced to leave the country on account of their doctrine, all Lutherans must.’ The above-mentioned writing to the synod, together with the records, the writings taken from the ordinary at Riga, with a memorial to the empress, (§ 118.) the acts of the Livonian commission, and the reports of the regency of that country, were, by order from the empress, delivered into the Imperial cabinet, where the matter rested.

As to the arrest, the Brethren *Conrad Lange*, *Zacharias Hirschel*, and *Michael Kund*, who solicited for passports to China, and to the Calmucs, but were arrested as suspected persons, (§ 130.) after a strict examination, had obtained liberty, on bail, to live together in one house, and work at their trades. *Gradin* also, after many vicissitudes, obtained leave, in July 1746, to live with them. He had especially frequent opportunities to insinuate into many principal members of the Imperial boards a true idea of the cause of the Brethren. Moreover, these prisoners proved a real blessing to many foreigners settled there, who were concerned for their salvation. By their recommendation, the French Reformed minister, *Jeremias Risler*, was called thither from Lubec, though some ill-disposed people endeavoured to prevent it. He preached the gospel there with blessing, and was of great service to the Brethren who were afterwards imprisoned; until, in the year 1761, he was called to be the minister of the French congregation

congregation of the Brethren at *New Wied*. After many fruitless attempts, these four Brethren, in February 1747, obtained liberty to return to their friends in Germany. After staying a quarter of a year longer in Petersburg, they, with an Imperial pass, given them without fee, entered upon their return by way of Livonia; where, after a friendly interview with the governor general at Riga, they obtained a new passport to Germany.

THE
MODERN HISTORY
OF THE
BRETHREN.

PART VII.

*From the Ordinary's last Journey to England in 1751,
to his Return to Germany in 1755.*

§ 172.

AFTER the ordinary had finished the negotiations in Saxony, had given his advice and assistance with respect to the emigration of the congregation from Herrnhag, and especially the repartition of the œconomies; and the internal hurts of the congregation having been remedied by the restitution of the simple doctrine of the merits of Jesus; the ordinary, in the summer of 1751, went again to *England*, in order to lend an helping hand, both to the American colonies and missions, and to the European congregations. He went by way of *Barby* and *Ebersdorf*. In the former place he was usefully employed with the seminary. In the latter, he attempted, once more, with the reigning count *Henry XXIV Reufs*, to settle this congregation of the Brethren on the foot of the

the Lutheran tropus; (§ 132.) held, with the labourers of this and other congregations, a synodal conference, and closed his present labour in Germany, with a farewell-discourse. On the 21st of July, he proceeded on his journey, in the company of count Henry XXVIII. Reufs, and his lady, through Franconia, Suabia, Switzerland, and France. He made no stay any where but at *Montmirail*, in the principality of *Neufchattel*, an estate of baron *De Watteville*, senior, where some Brethren and friends in Switzerland were gathered together, who desired to enjoy his conversation. The 24th of August, he arrived at *London*. He took an house of a prebendary, in the cloisters of Westminster-abbey, for the proper reception of persons of distinction in church and state, with whom he had to confer; till the earl of *Lindsey's* old house in *Chelsea*, purchased and intended to be repaired for him and his family, could be made ready.

One principal view the ordinary had with his residence in England, at that time, was, to draw himself, by degrees, out of the temporal concerns of the Unity, and, dividing them into several departments, to commit them to the care of some sensible and faithful men: but, with regard to himself, to be a disciple of the Lord, whose chief business should be to labour in stillness for the inward growth of the congregations. For this end, he called his only son, *Christian Renatus*, from Herrnhut, in order to use him as his right hand and assistant in inward matters. But this noble soul, entirely captivated with the love of Jesus, and living in the enjoyment of his atonement, whose character may be gathered, in some measure, from his poetical *Soliloquies* and *Meditations*, composed after the late sitting, which were afterwards found, and printed, on the 28th of May, 1752, took its flight, in Westminster-abbey, out of its tabernacle, enfeebled by much labour, and a violent spitting of blood, to the most sensible grief, not only of the choirs of the single Brethren, whom he had faithfully served for some

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years,

years, but also of all the congregations, who had promised themselves much blessing from his future service.

§ 173.

BEFORE I proceed farther, I must recite some particulars of the labour of the Brethren in *England, Ireland, and America*, to the year 1752.

At *London*, the labourers made use of the advice and assistance of the ordinary and his house, and continued the preaching of the gospel in the Brethren's chapels in *Fetter Lane* and *White's Alley*, with blessing. The congregation had rest, and was edified. Indeed, an adverse theological Opinion, sent over from Germany, was put into the hands of some bishops; and an extract of some German controversial and, in part, libellous writings appeared in a French monthly pamphlet. The former made but little impression, as the cause of the Brethren had been solidly examined not long before. The latter was irrefragably refuted by a letter from Sir *Luke Schaub*, a gentleman well known to the world by his embassies, to the authors of the monthly pamphlet, which they inserted entire, with a proper recantation.

At *Bedford*, a chapel was built for the preaching of the gospel, and consecrated in the year 1751. By degrees, some houses were built near it. The labourers, residing here, preached also in several neighbouring places, and ministered unto the awakened souls in societies. The ordinary, in October 1751, made a visit in this quiet place, to mutual satisfaction. In the rest of the congregations, in England and Ireland, bishop *Johannes de Watteville* held a visitation in autumn 1751, and the year following, the co-bishop, *Peter Boehler*. At *Ockbrook*, where, in 1750, a Brethren's congregation was regulated, the settlement of some families of those parts, on a piece of land adjoining to the Brethren's chapel, bought for the purpose, had occasioned some dissatisfaction

satisfaction to the parish-officers; but this affair was amicably adjusted in 1752. The Brethren's congregation at *Fulneck*, in *Yorkshire*, increased gradually both in persons and houses. The great awakening in this country was established by a better regulation of the societies; and, in some places, chapels were built. This was the case at *Gummer-sal*, *Mirfield*, and *Wyke*, and at *Duckenfield* in *Cheshire*. At *Tetberton*, in *Wiltshire*, where a congregation of the Brethren had been settled in the year 1748, some persons lived together in the neighbourhood of the chapel, and called their land, *Lambacre*. Besides these, the Brethren preached in other places; and, among the rest, at *Bristol*, and to the colliers at *Kingswood*; which gave occasion to a blessed acquaintance at *Bath*, and in the principality of *Wales*.

At *Dublin*, the congregation increased much; but, through the incautiousness and precipitancy of the labourers at that time, many were received into the congregation, who, afterwards, caused the Brethren much pain and trouble.

In the *North of Ireland*, the great concourse of hearers, which had been used to accompany the preachers by hundreds, from one place to another, began to abate a little; and now the awakened souls could be divided into societies, and enjoy the benefit of a wholesome care of their souls, according to their situation. They met no longer, as they formerly did, in the fields; but, at first, fitted up rooms and barns for their meeting-places, and then began to build chapels. The archbishop of *Armagh* was so far from laying any obstacles in their way, that he rather spoke well of them to such as asked his opinion concerning the Brethren; and himself offered them land for a settlement.

§ 174.

IN *Pennsylvania*, the co-bishop, *John Frederic Cammerhof*, departed this life, on the 28th of April, 1751. *Matthew Gottfried Hehl*, A. M. of *Tuebingen*, formerly inspector of

the schools and institutions at Herrnhut, was chosen in his stead, and consecrated a co-bishop, on the 24th of September, 1751, in the Brethren's chapel at London. He, together with more assistants, presently after set sail for Pennsylvania, in the company of bishop *Spangenberg*, who had again been invested with the direction of the work of God among Christians and Heathens in America, after *John Nitschmann* had returned to Europe. *Hehl* took upon himself, in particular, the inspection and visitation of the country-congregations, and gave direction to their labourers, in what manner the children might be properly taken care of and instructed, the parents living dispersed in the country, and some at a very great distance from the church, scattered in the woods. That this might be brought into, and maintained in, good order, *John Michael Graff*, one of the itinerant preachers, who had formerly been a labourer in the school-institutions at *Jena*, was particularly commissioned to visit, from time to time, through the whole country, and to give the labourers proper directions for the instruction of the children. At times also some single Brethren, and, in company of the co-bishop and his wife, a single Sister, visited the Brethren and Sisters of their respective choirs in the country, and made it their concern to attend the good of their souls. About this time, there was a great awakening in the country, especially among the children, who came diligently to school; by which means, even many grown persons were stirred up to a greater concern, both for their own salvation, and that of the people belonging to them, and to seek the fellowship of the Brethren. But, as not all that desired it could be received into the Brethren's congregation, at a visitation in the country, in the year 1753, societies, like those in England, were settled, in order to minister to the awakened in the gospel.

The congregations at *Bethlehem* and *Nazareth* increased greatly about this time, and attracted the attention of the whole country. In the year 1753, the strangers were num-
bered,

bered, who came merely to see the Brethren and their settlements, as also the institutions for the education of children, which were a wonder to every one; and their number amounted to above a thousand white people and Indians.

In the province of *New York* and in *New England*, where, formerly, the Brethren had suffered much, (§ 137.) they were now invited to preach. In the city of *New York* itself they built a church; and the evangelical testimony and exemplary walk of those Brethren, who, as missionaries, ministered in the gospel to the Indians at *Pachgatgoch* and *Wechquatnach* in *New England*, left a good impression in those parts. Their white neighbours in *Duchess-county*, in *New York* government, begged for and obtained a minister from *Bethlehem*.

In general, a better disposition in the inhabitants of the American provinces towards the Brethren began to appear about this time. In *Lancaster*, six years before, at a provincial synod, in the year 1745, the Brethren's lives were not safe, and stones flew about *Spangenberg's* head, as he was preaching upon the text of the day, *Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do.* (Luke xxiii. 34.) A justice of the peace, being present, expected that he would be very zealous against the ungodly people; but when he, instead of that, prayed for them, it proved a means of the conversion of the justice, and the enemies ceased to rage. Since then, in the year 1746, a fine church and school-house have been built in this town; and, in 1753, a provincial synod being held here, many of the former enemies of the Brethren heard the same Brother preach with attention.

The blessing of God was also perceptible in the outward concerns of the Brethren at *Bethlehem*, which enabled them to support the work of God among Christians and Heathens, besides their numerous institutions for educating children. In the year 1754, there being a great dearth in these parts, they were able to sell bread to many of their

poor neighbours at a very reasonable price, and heard praises given to the Father in heaven for it.

The good œconomy of the Brethren, and their diligence at work, served as a good example for the neighbours to imitate. An hundred thousand acres of land, on the *Ohio*, were offered to them on reasonable terms, and four thousand acres in *Ulster*-county, in New York government, were offered them *gratis*, because it was believed, the Brethren would, by their good management, encourage others to settle near them. But the Brethren, for good reasons, could make no use of these overtures.

How the missions among the Indians in North America, in Berbice in South America, and among the Negroes in the Caribbee islands, were carried on, I will relate hereafter, for the sake of the connexion.

§ 175.

AT the synod at *Barby*, in the year 1750, a visitation of the mission in *Greenland* was resolved upon; to which, bishop *Johannes de Watteville* was appointed. He went thither in 1752, accompanied by the eldest missionary in *Greenland*, *Matthew Stach*, who had been waiting, in vain, at *London* for the opening of a door to the *Esquimaux* in *Terra Labrador*. (§ 169.) According to his own diary, an extract of which is inserted in the *History of Greenland*, in the said year, he sailed from *Copenhagen*, April the 28th, 1752, and, after no small danger in the drift-ice, reached *New Herrnhut* in *Greenland*, on the 13th of June. The *Greenland*-congregation was, at his arrival, dispersed in their providing-places, as usual in summer; but by degrees they all came to *New Herrnhut*, and often a great number together; so that *Johannes* (to whom the *Greenlanders* gave the surname of *Affarsok*, that is, *The loving*,) had an opportunity, by an interpreter, to speak with them all singly, and to deliver to them

them some discourses, and homilies to the different choirs. He himself performed two baptismal acts, and held the Lord's supper twice; as also some congregation-days for all the people, on which he gave them a verbal account of the missions among other Heathens. He ordained the assistant of the mission, *John Soerensen*, a deacon of the Brethren's church, added more helpers from among the natives, to those already appointed, gave them the necessary instructions, and appointed some of them to deliver, from time to time, public discourses. Moreover, he brought the church-register into proper order, and, with the assistance of the missionaries, revised the hymns translated into the Greenlandish language. In order to take a view of the outward labour and maintenance, both of the Brethren and the Greenlanders, he went with the missionaries to their providing-places, visited the Heathen in the islands, and had many conversations with the passing and re-passing Southlanders, concerning the state of the country and nation, and the salvation purchased for them also, and now tendered unto them. August the 12th, he entered on his return, and, having endured a storm of five days continuance, arrived safe and well at Copenhagen, October the 4th. He had left at New Herrnhut about three hundred baptized, among whom were an hundred and twenty communicants, besides upwards of thirty catechumens; and fifty-three baptized were already at home with the Lord. About the same number were baptized in this year only, and forty persons had died in the Lord. In the year 1753, the congregation was increased with sixty-seven new inhabitants, and the year following with forty-eight baptized. On the other hand, by means of an infectious sickness, fifty-four Greenlanders, and among them the best providers and heads of families, were translated into eternity. Thus, many widows and orphans came into the utmost misery; but were provided for, by being divided among other families, and

by prudent management; so that none suffered want, or were neglected.

§ 176.

THE Brethren in Greenland had been long of opinion, that the Greenlanders came from North America, and that probably some *Karalit* (so the Greenlanders call themselves) were still there. They, therefore, often showed a desire to bring the gospel to them. For this purpose, *Matthew Stach* sought an opportunity, though in vain, to get to *Hudson's Bay*. This occasioned some Brethren at London, in company with other well-disposed merchants, to fit out a trading vessel for the coast of *Terra Labrador*. As, in the mean time, *Matthew Stach* was gone to Greenland again, they requested the ordinary to send some Brethren with them, to preach the gospel to the Heathen. A Dutch mate, *Christian Erhard*, who had several times been in *Davis's Straits* on the whale-fishery, and had visited at New Herrnhut, where he had learned some Greenlandish words, and now lived in the Brethren's congregation at Zeist, offered himself to go, and four Brethren were willing to settle in the country, and learn the language, in order to promote the conversion of the Heathen. The ordinary showed some uneasiness concerning this undertaking, since interested views were connected with it; which, as he had already observed in some unsuccessful attempts, generally prove an injury to the missions. He was, however, not willing to hinder this attempt. The four Brethren took with them an house ready framed, a boat, all kinds of implements, and seeds, for the cultivation of the land. They sailed from London, the 17th of May, 1752, and entered, on the 31st of July, into a fine bay, on the coast of *Terra Labrador*, which, from one of the owners of the ship, is still called, *Nisbet's Haven*. Here they resolved to settle, and began to make preparation for their support. They called their house, *Hoffenthal*, or,
The

The valley of hope. Erhard, on September the 5th, went with the ship farther northward upon traffic, and could make himself tolerably understood by the Esquimaux; but was seduced by them, being afraid to come on board, on account of the arms, to go to them, in an unarmed boat, with five men more, into a bay between the islands, to trade, from whence he never returned. The ship, having no other boat, could not fail in quest of them, and was necessitated to return to the Brethren. The captain represented to them his distress, that, having lost his best men and the boat, he was not able to navigate the ship; and desired them to return with him. They, therefore, though with regret, left their house, in hopes of taking possession of it again next year, and returned to England, where they arrived about the end of November. The ordinary, who thanked God heartily for the safe return of these four Brethren, was scrupulous of permitting them to go again thither, till an account should be received, whether the missing people were still alive, and the house standing. The ship, sailing thither the next year, brought word, that some bodies of the murdered persons had been found, which they buried. The house was found standing, by the crew of another ship; but, soon after, advice was received, that it was destroyed too. This undertaking, therefore, was postponed for another time.

§ 177.

WE will now turn back to England, and begin with the year 1753. This was a severely trying year for the ordinary and his fellow-labourers; since the external affairs of the Brethren, in England, were involved in very difficult circumstances. The public being acquainted with this event in part, but in a very false manner, I think it incumbent upon me, to give a faithful and just relation of it. In order to afford the reader a clear and true insight into this matter, I find it necessary first to give a concise and authentic account of the ma-

nagement of the œconomical concerns in the congregations, missions, and colonies of the Brethren.

Undoubtedly, every attentive reader of this History has been frequently induced to ask, How was it possible to defray all the unavoidable expences, which must necessarily have attended all these works of the Lord, which have been brought to bear within these thirty years? Vast sums must have been required and expended, for receiving, and providing for, such a number of emigrants out of Moravia; for building and settling the congregation-place, *Herrnhut*, and, in the sequel, for erecting and establishing so many other congregation-places and colonies in Europe and America; for undertaking and supporting so many missions among the Heathen, in all the four quarters of the globe; for performing almost numberless journeys, and far more than a thousand longer and shorter voyages in the service of the kingdom of Jesus among Christians and Heathens, many of which journeys and voyages were made by very numerous companies; for maintaining the seminary, the pædagogium, and the very considerable institutions for the education of children, in which, from the beginning, the board was paid but for very few; for erecting, and properly regulating, the choir-houses in the congregation-places, and for advancing the sums required, in most places, for the establishment of the requisite businesses and handicrafts in the choir-houses; for supporting the pilgrim-house, or, the frequently very numerous companies of Brethren and Sisters, some going to, some coming back from, their stations, which, since the exile of the ordinary, must be provided for by him; for the maintaining the ministers and labourers in most of the congregations, and of their widows and orphans out of all the congregations and missions, who were to be taken care of, since their fathers had no salaries, or any way of laying up for, or leaving any thing to, them; for so many deputations to courts of kings and princes, and to their ministers, which were undertaken, partly with a view

to

to lead the work of God, among Christians and Heathens, into a proper and regular channel, and partly to plead the cause of it; for the necessary visitations and messages; for keeping up a very extensive correspondence with all the congregations and missions, and a connexion with many friends, and others, in the Christian religions; and for many other exigences, unavoidable in a work of God of such vast extent, and too numerous to be specified here.

I will answer this important question historically, according to truth, partly from the intelligence I have received of the matter, by a strict enquiry of such as, from the beginning, were engaged in it, and partly from my own knowledge of it, since the year 1740, when I came into the seminary of the Brethren.

§ 178.

AT the first beginning of the building of Herrnhut, the ordinary and his lady devoted all their substance, excepting what was absolutely necessary for their own support, to the use of the cause of God, having solemnly engaged themselves to support it to the utmost of their power. In the beginning, they were strengthened by the assistance of some of their relations and other friends. But as this assistance was subject to many vicissitudes, and soon ceased entirely; they resolved to risk their whole real and personal estate in supporting and promoting this new work of God, which, by the hand of Providence, was extended so far. The ordinary did not chuse to seek any help by means of collections, otherwise usual in case of emigrations, missions among the Heathen, orphan-houses, and the like pious institutions; though he and his consort did not disapprove of this method, when used by others; and themselves continued, upon this or the other occasion, to contribute to such collections. A chief reason, why he did not chuse that method, was, that other undertakings might not suffer by it. In establishing

new colonies and Heathen-missions, he never sought any pecuniary assistance from government; and when such was offered by patrons of high rank, he modestly declined it, for very good reasons. His determination, in this case, was, to look with faith to the bounteous hand of the Lord, to manage, in the most frugal manner, his own income, and what was freely contributed by Brethren of substance, and by friends, of their own free impulse; and whenever this did not suffice, to borrow what was required upon his estates.

He committed to his lady the care of the external affairs. This truly great lady, whose benevolence and excellent œconomical talents will ever remain in blessed remembrance in the Brethren's congregations, supported the pious views of her consort, among other things, by so wise and decent a regulation in her domestic affairs, as to render them more subservient to the cause of the Lord, than to her noble family. For she, in the beginning, took into her service such labourers and helpers of the congregation at Herrnhut, as could not maintain themselves; and afterwards, from time to time, such persons as devoted themselves to the work of God among Christians and Heathens. Her sole view herein was, to support them with what was needful. Thus, this noble family could not but be acknowledged an house of God in truth. This was also the foundation of the *Congregation and Pilgrim House*, (mentioned in § 69 and 121,) in which all the servants of the church of the Brethren had, as it were, their home; the support of which, with the most frugal management, required great sums. For when the ordinary, in the year 1736, was obliged to go into exile, and to turn his back, not only, upon his estates, but also, for a time, upon his family; and was, at the same time, under a necessity of having with him the needful assistants, to carry on the work of God, which now first rightly began to prosper and to spread; (§ 86.) the expences also increased by degrees in such a manner, that they were often reduced to great straits; especially since the reproach attending

tending his exile had the bad effect upon some, otherwise well-disposed, persons, that they forsook him, and called in their capitals, advanced at the heavy interest of six *per cent.* But Providence furnished him with the unexpected means of alleviating the burden, several Brethren and friends in Holland offering, of their own free motion, a loan at three *per cent.* to pay off the capitals lent upon the estates of his lady, at such an high interest. The countess accepted this kind offer, as a means put into her hands by divine Providence, at once to satisfy her creditors, some of whom were grown impatient and unfriendly; and to provide for her household, which she had begun for the service of the kingdom of God, with the part of the annual revenues of her estates thus saved, which she, hitherto, had been obliged to give to strangers.

When the aforesaid Brethren in Holland, and some others, determined to contribute something for the service of the congregations of the Brethren and their colonies, missions, and institutions, in order, thus to afford some alleviation to the supporting the cause of the Lord; a board of faithful and understanding men was established, by the name of, *The general Diacony*, who should have the management of these free contributions, and, jointly with the countess, provide for the necessities of the church of the Brethren in all its branches, in a way worthy of the gospel, and suited to the nature of the cross's kingdom of Christ. This regulation flourished for several years in blessing; and, by a frugal and sparing œconomy, with which, however, every one was satisfied, was crowned with many demonstrations of the power of God.

§ 179.

AFTER the return of the ordinary from America, in the year 1743, several things occurred, which occasioned alterations in many branches of the church of the Brethren, and had also a great influence upon the œconomical affairs.

Business

Business heaping more than ever, it required more hands, and caused many journeys to places at smaller or greater distances. In some countries, the Brethren suffered heavy oppressions, by which many friends, who would not renounce the Brethren, were either driven away, or unreasonably took occasion from hence to retire to the congregations of the Brethren. These were with difficulty brought under cover; and part of them, with their large families, fell entirely upon the congregations for their maintenance. At the same time, the necessary support of the former, and the settlement of new, colonies and missions went on, not only, as heretofore, but required more persons, and necessarily more help than hitherto. The societies, established for the furtherance of the gospel among the Heathen, became timorous on account of the rapid progress and the great expences of the missions, lost their courage by degrees, and at length ceased to be what, for some years, they had been with blessing. The seminary, the pædagogium, and the children's æconomies encreased, not only by the growth of the congregations, but also by many young people from distant places, in consequence of the aforesaid oppressions.

In this manner, the exigences of the congregations, colonies, missions, and æconomies became, from year to year, more considerable; the more so, as, here and there, the former simple and frugal housekeeping was laid aside, and this deviation could not be immediately redressed, on account of the circumstances of the times, as related above. The assistance, hitherto given by Brethren and friends, grew less and less, and was not sufficient to make up the deficiency. As the servants of the church of the Brethren could and would not suffer the work of God, which, though labouring under so many difficulties, yet spread farther and farther, to be hemmed or stopped; so the *Diacony* (§ 178.) was under a necessity of thinking of ways and means to support it. They were, therefore, obliged to borrow what

was wanted for the present, in hopes of making a more effectual regulation. This method met, for some years, with no difficulty; but had, alas! the hurtful tendency to wean the members of the congregations, and other friends of the cause of God, almost entirely from taking any actual share in it. To this was added the severe fasting, with regard to the inward state of the congregation, in the year 1746, which had various painful effects upon the œconomical affairs of the Brethren. This fasting broke out almost every where in the years 1748 and 1749; at a time, when several negotiations, which were likewise attended with great expences, were carrying on, to obtain an examination and firmer establishment of the cause of the Brethren. The ordinary then resided with his house in England, which caused many expensive journeys. All these things raised the distress still higher. In England, not only the Brethren's society for the furtherance of the gospel among the Heathen in the British dominions, but also the laudable regulations for the support of the children's œconomies, and of the ministers and other labourers, were, in several congregations, neglected in such a manner, that almost the whole of these expences were cast upon the diacony, and they were obliged to bear them. By this means, the burden grew still heavier. Some merchants, who belonged to the Brethren's congregation, endeavouring, with a very good meaning, to support the cause by their credit, the diacony was, on the one hand, helped for a time; but, on the other, it occasioned greater expences and many losses, which, at length, threw the whole affair into confusion.

To all these, and other more real, misfortunes, which cannot be specified here, was still added the emigration from *Herrnbaag* in 1750 and the following years; by which the diacony sustained a much greater loss than is generally imagined; since, thereby, partly large sums, which had
been

been advanced, were entirely lost; and partly a well-ordered and established fund of credit was shaken in such a manner, that the diacony was obliged to take it upon themselves, and, at a most unseasonable juncture, to make up the whole with certain loss. At the same time, all the children's œconomies, hitherto established in Wetteravia, were broken up, and, together with many old, infirm, and helpless persons and families, transplanted to other countries at very considerable charges; not to mention the loss in the implements of the trades, and in the furniture. All this happened at a time, when the Brethren were scarcely recovered from the loss sustained by the emigration from *Pilgerrub*. (§ 92.)

§ 180.

IN the mean time, the ordinary went to Germany. But he no sooner heard of the difficult circumstances of the diacony, and of the before-mentioned embarrassment of affairs in England, than he resolved to hasten back. By his presence and credit he was successful in rescuing the diacony there out of the most pressing difficulties. But the aforesaid well-meaning merchants, who had, from time to time, advanced sums of money to the general diacony, were drawn into a large bill-negotiation with a certain Jew. This man failing, in the beginning of the year 1753, not in an honourable manner; the merchants and the Brethren were obliged to stand for a much greater sum, than they really owed and were able to pay in so short a time. This made all their creditors uneasy. They demanded payment. The ordinary, who as yet was ignorant of the whole connexion of the transactions for the support of their credit, became most deeply and painfully concerned on account of it. But, when he, at length, got an insight into the whole state of the case, he was comforted; and, on the written request and intreaty of the Brethren concerned, took upon himself, and stood for, the whole debt, on condition that the creditors

ditors would agree to his measures. This he did out of love to his Brethren, to maintain their credit, and to preserve the honour of our Saviour from being exposed to reproach by means of his people. An eminent lawyer, who was employed to settle these affairs, dissuaded him from personally engaging for such a debt; and offered other honourable proposals for extricating the Brethren. But when he could not prevail upon the ordinary, this uncommonly noble and generous way of thinking made such a deep impression upon him, that he afterwards extolled it to the creditors with tears in his eyes, and endeavoured to induce them to enter into an agreement with the debtors, by means of this surety; by which the capitals, with all the interests, should be paid at certain stated terms. Most of the creditors agreed to it; but some, influenced and incited by bitter enemies of the Brethren, were determined either to be paid out of hand, or to proceed against their debtors with the utmost severity. Yea, when still other gentlemen of substance offered themselves to be bondsmen, they would not accept of them, under the pretext that they also were Brethren. This rendered the negotiation exceedingly difficult and disagreeable. But the rest of the creditors soon saw that these people were not so much intent upon obtaining a sufficient security for their demands, as upon effecting the total ruin of the Brethren; and some spoke it plainly out, that, now they were falling, care should be taken that they might not rise again. Some of the other creditors, therefore, took upon themselves the demands of those who opposed the agreement, paid them entirely off, and had the deed engrossed and executed. Every thing being settled, the creditors returned thanks to the ordinary for his interposition, by two deputies out of their number, in the presence of many Brethren.

§ 181.

THIS was indeed a time of great distress, an hour of temptation, in which the thoughts of many hearts were revealed. Many friends lost their courage, and drew back; because they saw no way for the Brethren to be extricated out of these difficulties. The enemies exulted, and spared no pains and cost to render the fall of the Brethren as certain and as striking as possible. But God, in whom the Brethren placed their confidence, as in all other matters, so in particular in this distress, which arose in the beginning from their determination to venture in faith their all in furthering his kingdom; God remained faithful, amidst all their mistakes and transgressions, which they heartily acknowledged; and caused the temptation to end in such a manner, that they were able to bear it. With one hand he chastised them, and with the other he showed mere mercy. He always delivered them out of their distress; and it was often very obvious, that he permitted it to rise to the highest pitch, with the intent, to show his help the more evidently. A particular instance of this remains ever memorable to me and others that have seen with their own eyes the wonderful help of God, on the 2d of March, 1753, when the daily word was,

GOD COMETH*!

“And grants us blessings great to share.”

For, when the assistance, which was expected some days before, failed, and a certain merchant, who was no Brother, could not, on that account, make his payments good at the appointed time, by which he was in danger of being cast into prison; and the ordinary being resolved to preserve the credit of this innocent man, and to go to prison in his stead; just in the critical moment, help arrived, contrary to

* Isa. xxxv. 4. according to the German version.

the expectation of every one : and thus the design of those, who were incensed against him and the Brethren, was frustrated. Such help the debtors often experienced just at the time when they were to be arrested. Amidst all the pain which was felt on account of false friends, many joyful proofs appeared of brotherly love, which is ready to give up all, even life itself, for the Brethren. At the same time, the Brethren learned, from experience, to understand more fully many inestimable words of our Saviour and his apostles ; particularly this exhortation of our Lord, *Take no thought for the morrow : for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.* (Matt. vi. 34.) I have observed upon the whole, that, at that time, almost every day was distinguished by some particular evil, but also by some singular instance of the help of God : inasmuch, that every one was obliged to acknowledge that all honour belonged unto him alone, and not to men.

For all these benefits, received at the hand of the Lord in the year 1753, a day of thanksgiving was appointed in all the congregations of the Brethren, on which he was praised and adored with numberless tears. For, though all distress was not yet at an end, and it was well known, that it would still cost much labour and pains to pay off all the debts ; yet the Brethren could draw fresh hope from their manifold experience of the help of God. This hope has not been put to shame. I will here only mention beforehand, that the aforesaid agreement with the creditors has been entirely fulfilled at the appointed terms, through the blessing of God, and the willing assistance of some Brethren and friends.

§ 182.

AMIDST all these distressing occurrences, the congregations in England proceeded in their regular course; the missions among the Heathen were supplied, as hitherto, according to their necessities ;

necessities; and the children's œconomies suffered no real want. *Lindsey-house* was, notwithstanding all these difficulties, finished; (§ 172.) and, on the 29th of March, 1753, the ordinary and his household moved into it, with an humble sense of the grace of God, and in confident reliance upon his farther gracious help. I can never call to mind our abode in this house, but with thankfulness towards God, the Giver of every good gift, both in spirituals and in temporals. *The great German Hymn-book of the Brethren*, begun in the year 1752, was completed; and, in the year 1754, a large English Hymn-book, or, *A Collection of Hymns of the Children of God in all Ages, from the Beginning till now, in two Parts*, was printed. The printing-office, in the ordinary's house, never stood still; for he, amidst all the oppressive circumstances, never suspended his labour for the congregations. The ship of the Brethren, *Irene*, (§ 169.) sailed, in 1753, with forty, and in 1754, twice with upwards of ninety Brethren and Sisters, for the colonies and missions in America.

In what manner the work of God among Christians and Heathens was carried on, and how it spread here and in other places, will be related hereafter. I will only mention at present, that the distressing circumstances of the ordinary and his fellow-labourers had a salutary influence upon all the congregations of the Brethren. Whoever was informed of them, felt not only a tender sympathy, but did all he could to alleviate the burden, which had hitherto lain upon them. To this end, one congregation after the other established their own special diaconies, for the support of their labourers, and for other exigences. They also found it equitable, if not to take entirely upon themselves, yet to assist the diacony in, the providing for the missionaries among the Heathen, and maintaining the poor children in the œconomies. For this purpose, certain Brethren were appointed, who should receive the kind contributions towards the support of the Heathen-missions; and, after mature consult-

ation, dispose of what came in, where it was found most necessary. Thus also were the poor children and orphans in the oeconomies taken care of. These regulations had this advantage, that every where a more simple, frugal and industrious way of life was pursued; that more share was taken in, and more prayers were offered for, the work of God; and, in reliance upon his help, his cause supported, according to the ability which God gave.

§ 183.

To the before-mentioned distress came another, which added greatly unto it. About the very same time, a torrent of controversial writings, and of libels against the Brethren, came over from Germany to England, and were translated by persons that wanted bread. Some whom the Brethren had been obliged to disown, now would revenge themselves. The latter collected various old stories, to render the Brethren odious to the nation. The former endeavoured to persuade the public, that the Brethren had been driven out of Germany and other countries, as people prejudicial to society; and that they had imposed upon the parliament, and obtained the act of 1749 in a surreptitious manner. Although parliament knew very well what was fitting for them to grant, or to refuse, upon so long and so strict an examination; and though the speakers of both houses, and some of the most eminent lords spiritual and temporal, with whom the ordinary kept up an uninterrupted intercourse and correspondence, assured him, that he had no occasion to give himself the least trouble in entering into any defence for their sakes; yet he consented, with a view to pacify the people, that some Brethren might answer the most envenomed pamphlets. He even offered, in the public papers, to answer all the questions which might, in a decent and candid manner, be put to him, publicly or privately, relative to the things alledged against the Brethren in the writings of their

adversaries : but, this time also, on condition, that the name of any writer, or translator, should not be mentioned ; being desirous that their names and persons might be spared ; as it is taken notice of in § 162. He has kept his promise. To one of the first ministers of state, who urged the prosecution of a certain libeller, and promised him all his interest in having him punished, he gave his reasons in writing, why he neither could nor would prosecute him *. A certain eminent divine, who compared the Brethren to all the ancient and modern heretics, and charged them with all their errors, though ever so opposite to each other, received from him a very moderate private answer.

The aim of the arch-enemy was, no doubt, to stir up the people, and to raise a mob against the Brethren. But his design was frustrated for this time. The Brethren never lived and preached in greater quietude in England and Ireland, than at this very time, when so much was read in the news-papers against them ; though often many hundred people passed by their houses and chapels, relating all manner of scandals, which had been spread abroad concerning them. A curiosity was rather raised in many, to obtain a more certain knowledge of the Brethren, and to hear them preach. On Easter-Sunday morning, in the year 1753, several thousands gathered together at *Fulneck*, in *Yorkshire*, to be present at the divine service of the Brethren, of which

* The conduct of the ordinary, in many such cases, was so Christian-like, and so truly noble, that it surprised even his Brethren. The writer of this note was urged, by the lord above-mentioned, to persuade the ordinary to prosecute the author, whose pamphlet hurt the credit of several persons. But he was determined not to return evil for evil. Another instance of the same nature, is, that, when a certain Brother, who had been a confidant of the said author, was so provoked by his pamphlet, that he was resolved to publish many things known to him, greatly to the disadvantage of the author, the ordinary declared, that he would renounce all connexion with him, if he did it. In this manner of bearing reproach, he enjoyed a satisfaction which none of his revilers could have. (The Editor.)

they

they had heard strange accounts. Many instances became known afterwards, of people attending the preaching of the gospel, upon these occasions, here and in other places, for a permanent blessing unto their souls.

§ 184.

AFTER the ordinary, with his household, had moved into Lindsey-house at *Chelsea*, he again began the conferences with the labourers that were at hand from the German and English congregations. He was present, in July, at the provincial synod of the English labourers, and made a visit, in August, to some congregations in the country. In September and October he held a synodal conference with the deputies from almost all the congregations abroad, to which *Spangenberg*, and some other labourers, were come from America. The same was done in September 1754, when the countess of Zinzendorf was likewise present. The ordinary, before this, paid a visit to the English congregations, staying longest at *Fulneck*. Here he spoke with many persons singly, held several congregation and choir-discourses, and conferences with the labourers. During his abode here, the negotiation with the Rev. *Benjamin Ingham*, concerning the premises on which this congregation-place is built, was finished. He made a disposition for the girls-œconomy, which formerly had been at *Mile-end* near London, and was now moved from thence to *Chelsea*, to be transplanted to *Fulneck*, where it could be better regulated and taken care of; together with the œconomy of boys settled there.

§ 185.

SOON after, in November 1754, an English provincial synod was again held at Lindsey-house, at which the minister of the Brethren's church at London, *John Gambold*, a

divine greatly esteemed for his piety and learning by several English bishops, who were his contemporaries in the university of *Oxford*, was consecrated a bishop of the church of the Brethren. The society at *Bristol* sent some of their Brethren to the synod, to desire the settlement of a congregation there. The labourers from *Yorkshire* and the *North of Ireland* requested the same, in the name of several societies. From awakened persons in *Wales*, where *John Cennick* had visited in the year 1753, and preached in many places with blessing, letters were received, requesting, that Brethren might be sent to take care of them. A married couple were sent to *Wales*, who visited the awakened, and settled societies in some places. In the beginning of the year 1755, bishop *Johannes de Watteville* held a visitation in the English and Irish congregations. A number, selected out of the society at *Bristol*, were formed into a congregation of the Brethren. Some neighbouring clergymen of the church of England became better acquainted with the Brethren, by means of this visitation. In *Yorkshire*, the congregation at *Fulneck* obtained the same constitution as any other congregation-place of the Brethren. The members of the congregation, living at *Pudsey*, *Gomersal*, *Mirfield*, *Wyke*, and *Duckenfield*, were settled, after the pattern of the country-congregations in *Pennsylvania*, as congregations of the Brethren. They received their own labourers, who performed the public divine worship, together with the care of souls in their places, under the direction of the labourers at *Fulneck*; yet so, that all the members of the congregation in those parts celebrated, every quarter of a year, the holy communion with the congregation at *Fulneck*. The societies and preaching places, lying nearest to each of these congregations, were supplied by their respective labourers, and by assistants, appointed by the conference at *Fulneck*, from time to time.

§ 186.

IN the congregation at *Dublin* a fisting was broken out in the year 1752, in which both the labourers and some private members were involved. Sundry irregularities had been discovered. Those labourers, who were blame-worthy, on account of their negligence, or improper conduct, were removed, and others appointed in their places, under the inspection of *John Toeltschig*; which was not without a good effect.

In the *North of Ireland*, where, in the year 1746, *John Cennick*, upon the invitation of a certain zealous man at *Ballymenagh*, began to preach to vast numbers of people, under great persecution, were now sixteen societies and as many chapels, and besides, the gospel was preached in forty other places. The whole plan was divided into six districts, and a labourer given to each of them. They lie chiefly round *Lagh Neagh*, in the counties of *Derry*, *Down*, *Antrim*, and *Armagh*. A number had already been selected out of the societies at *Ballymenagh* and *Ballinderry*, at a visitation three years before, who were served with more particular care; and these were, at the present visitation, formed into congregations of the Brethren, like those in *Yorkshire* and in *Pennsylvania*.

It is certain, that it would have been more agreeable to the ordinary, if those that were awakened through the preaching of the Brethren, had continued in their former denominations, and were ministered unto by the Brethren with good advice. In this view, first a select number of the hearers of the Brethren were formed into societies. These should, according to his insight, attend the public worship in their churches, partaking of the sacraments in their religion; and should only be led, by means of edifying conversation and good advice, by the Brethren, whom he would

consider as assistants of their ministers. To this day, this regulation is kept to in several places. But as many in the societies were not of the established church, but of other denominations, and some even of smaller and erroneous religious parties; and as it could not be required of them to join themselves to the church, there was, therefore, a necessity, upon their leaving their former parties, or being put out by them, to take care of them in another way, that they might not become separatists. The Brethren were obliged to receive such into their congregation, and, besides the preaching of the gospel, to administer the holy sacraments unto them. Since many, who formerly belonged to the established church, but had left it, some even before their acquaintance with the Brethren, could not be withheld from the congregation, assigning such reasons as could not be gainsayed; the Brethren could do no otherwise, than treat such people, if they found a real work of grace in them, as members of the Brethren's congregation, and grant them the same privileges which the rest enjoyed.

§ 187.

SOME account has been given in § 174, of the state of the congregations of the Brethren in Pennsylvania, during this period. I will now add some particulars concerning the state of the mission among the *Indians* in North America. Besides the Indian congregation at *Gnadenhuetten*, Brethren lived at *Meniolagomekah*, which was, as it were, the filial of Gnadenhuetten, at *Pachgatgoch*, and at *Wechquatnach*, on the frontiers of New England, and at *Schomoko*, on the Susquehannah. Brethren from Bethlehem made, from time to time, journeys to *Wajomik*, *Neskopacko*, and other places on the Susquehannah, visited the baptized Indians, when they were hunting in those parts, and preached the gospel to the Indians living there, who also often came on visits to Bethlehem.

Moreover,

Moreover, *David Zeisberger* *, in order to keep up the acquaintance with the Six Nations, and to wait for an opportunity of making the gospel known to them, took several difficult journeys to their chief places, especially to *Onondago*, in company of one or another Brother, who likewise were desirous to learn the languages of the Indians. He commonly staid some months, conversing with them in a friendly manner: yet effected but little in their hearts, and endured, with his companions, hunger, cold, and many other hardships; yea, their lives were in danger, when the Indians were drunk. But yet, amidst various difficulties, and many obstacles, which were still, from time to time, laid in their way, the mission was carried on with success. It had even the appearance, as if the hope of the ordinary, which he had conceived in the year 1742, during his stay at *Wajomik*, would be fulfilled, that the cruel *Schawanos*, who lived there at that time, would either be converted, or move away, and make room for an Indian congregation. For, in July 1752, a deputation of more than an hundred persons †, mostly of the *Nantikoks* at *Wajomik*, came to *Gnadenhuetten* and *Bethlehem*. They, with many solemnities usual among them, established friendship between the Indians and the Brethren at *Bethlehem*, and invited them to visit, or rather, to live among, them, assuring the Brethren, that they would hear and embrace the gospel. The joy of the Brethren at *Bethlehem* on account of this visit, and their willingness to serve the Indians in the gospel, was extraordinarily great. This occurrence was, indeed, very pleasing to the ordinary, and strengthened his hope, that an Indian congregation would still be settled on the *Susquehannah*; yet he expected, not that a whole nation of the Indians, but

* He is known among the Indians by the name of *Ganousserachery*; having, as other Brethren, been received into one of their tribes, and naturalized.

† In this year, six hundred and eighty Indians visited at *Bethlehem*, at different times.

that only an Ἐκλογη, or small number of them, would be converted, who would then do well to move together, and live by themselves. In March 1753, another deputation from the same nations renewed the friendship; and, in the name of the Six Nations, brought a message to the Mahikanders and Delawares at *Gnadenhuetten* and *Meniolagomekah*, as also to the *Wampanoes* at *Pachgatgoch* and *Wechquatnach*, whom the Indian Brethren should tell that they should depart out of the country of the white people, and move to *Wajomik*, where they could have teachers from the Brethren too, and live after their manner. They delivered this message timorously, being apprehensive it might not be agreeable to the Brethren. The Brethren answered them, They had no objection that the Indians, who hitherto had lived with them, might move thither; but left it entirely to them to take what resolution they should think proper. It appeared, however, suspicious to them, that the Six Nations should send such a message neither by deputies from *Onondago*, nor by our Brethren there, but by strange Indians. And this message being delivered timorously, confirmed them in their apprehension, that they were meditating war. The event verified this supposition. The ordinary agreed with *Spangenberg*, who, in the year 1754, returned to America, that our Indians should neither be furthered, nor hindered, to move into the Indian country; as to those who staid behind, they should be the more taken care of, and those that went away, should be visited from time to time, and regard should be had to the issue our Saviour would produce out of it.

§ 188.

SOME Indians, therefore, by their own choice, removed from *Gnadenhuetten* to *Wajomik*; but others came soon in their room. For, in the year 1753, the Indians at *Wechquatnach* were obliged to quit their land, it being sold. The Brethren received those of whom they had good hopes; and
suffered

suffered the rest, who chose rather to live in the woods, to go to Wajomik, whither the Indians at *Westenhook*, near *Wechquatnach*, baptized by the Presbyterians, and the Indians from the *Jerseys*, also went. Thus, *Pachgatgoch* remained alone. This station among the Heathen, situate about two hundred miles from Bethlehem, belonged to the Indian captain *Gideon*, who carried on the cause of our Saviour, even at a time when the Brethren were confined in prison for the sake of the Heathen, and were detained from their borders for a long time. This same *Gideon* was the cause, that his Indians did not move into the country of the savages; since he saw, and represented to them, that they would suffer there damage in their souls. In the year 1754, the Indians in *Meniolagomekah* were likewise obliged to forsake their land. Some of them removed to *Gnadenhuetten*, and some to *Wajomik*. This was, therefore, the third Indian town, the inhabitants of which were forced to emigrate, and whom the Brethren were obliged to receive, viz. in 1745, *Chekomekah*, from whence arose *Gnadenhuetten*, (§. 139.) and now *Wechquatnach* and *Meniolagomekah*. In the year 1755, also the Indians from *Gnadenhuetten* were expelled, and received by the Brethren at Bethlehem; as we shall see in the following Part.

The Indians, who had removed to *Wajomik*, from the above-mentioned five places, having, in part, been before under the care of the Brethren, earnestly desired to have a missionary living among them. But there were good reasons for not gratifying their desire for the present. However, they were often, and, when possible, every six or eight weeks, visited by Brethren, who, every time, staid several days with them, visited them in the places where they were hunting, or in their towns, especially at *Skehantowa* and *Ostlonwakin*, and preached the gospel to all the inhabitants, and even baptized some, who could not come to any Indian congregation. Thus, an emotion was occasioned among the Indians in the whole district, especially at *Lechawachnek*, a
town

town of the Menissing Indians, which would have had many blessed consequences both far and near, if the Indian war had not intervened.

§ 189.

AMONG all the offers for settling colonies, made to the Brethren in the years 1747 and 1749, by occasion of the negotiations with the parliament of Great Britain, (§ 138, and 152.) none came to effect but the offer of an hundred thousand acres of land in *North Carolina*, in the territory of the president of the privy council, the earl of *Granville*. The view with this colony was, to give to such Brethren and friends, as should desire it, an opportunity of settling, at a cheap rate, in a country as yet but little cultivated; to serve, both in a temporal and spiritual sense, the inhabitants already there, and especially such neighbours as should be inclined to settle round about them, as several did afterwards; and to preach the gospel to them, as well as to the *Cherokees*, *Catawbas*, *Chikasaws*, *Creeks*, and other Indians. The purchase of the land was not completed before the autumn of 1751. *Spangenberg* received the commission to go thither with some Brethren, in order to seek out and survey the land. This was done about the end of the year 1752. It was attended, in the uninhabited parts of the country, with much danger and hardship. The Brethren, appointed to seek out the land, were lost in the wild woods, in which they spent fourteen weeks, before they could obtain their aim. In autumn 1753, Bethlehem made the beginning to fit out the first colonists, eleven single Brethren, with horses and waggons, cattle, household-furniture, and utensils for husbandry. They went thither by land, and, for the sake of provender, took a route of nine hundred miles, through countries where no European had ever travelled with any carriage. They were obliged, with a great deal of trouble and fatigue, to make their way through rivers, and over steep
rocks,

rocks, and mountains covered with woods; on which journey they spent six weeks. On the 17th of November, they took possession of this land, which borders on the river *Yadkin*, and was called by the Brethren, *The Wachau*, or, *Wachovia*. They began with good courage to clear a piece of land, preparing it for meadows and arable land. They also built a mill, which proved of the greatest benefit to the circumjacent country, since more inhabitants soon settled round about them. In autumn 1754, *Peter Boehler*, who was arrived the year before from England in America, made a journey thither, to assist the Brethren in their first settlement. At the same time, dispositions were made for obtaining a better knowledge of the country, dividing it into proper parts for improvement. After the arrival of the second company of single Brethren from Bethlehem, on the 26th of October, 1754, the place where the Brethren had first settled, was more and more built and cultivated, and called, *Bethabara*. The land of the Brethren was, in the year 1755, by an *Act of Assembly*, declared a particular parish, and, after the name of the then governor, called, *Dobb's Parish*.

§ 190.

WE will now go farther southward in America. As to the Negro-mission in the Danish West India islands, I cannot describe it better, than from *Nathanael Seidel's* relation of his visitation there in the year 1753. In general, the work of God, since the last visitation, (§ 167.) had, under the protection of the supreme magistrate and the government there, proceeded in peace and with blessing. As most of the planters became more and more convinced of the advantage they reaped from the conversion of their Negroes, it was a satisfaction to them, to see their Negroes attending the preaching, and being baptized; insomuch, that they entreated the Brethren to visit them frequently. But yet,
various

various difficulties and hinderances were never wanting; the greatest of which was, that the labourers were too few, and these, for the most part, weak, and often very sick. Many were hardly arrived, and equipped for the labour, when they were called to rest. On this account, the missions in *St. Croix* and in *St. Jan* had not always a constant missionary residing in these islands. It was not till in the year 1753, that *George Ohneberg* went to stay for a constancy at *St. Croix*, and in 1754, *John Brukker*, at *St. Jan*. In *St. Thomas*, *George Weber* and *John Boehner* resided at *New Herrnhut*, and *John Hantsch* at *Krumbay*, since called *Niesky*. These, besides the public divine service at *New Herrnhut*, preached weekly sermons on several plantations. Many hundred children in the whole island were diligently visited and instructed by *Ronner*. All of them spent the time they had to spare, labouring with their hands for their sustenance; in which (exclusive of the work in the cane-fields, which they did with their few Negroes,) three single Brethren were of great service to them by their handicrafts, especially building mills; though they, at the same time, assisted in attending to the Negroes. The missions-diacony supported them, from Europe and Pennsylvania, with the necessaries which their earnings were not sufficient to supply. The number of all the baptized Negroes, since the beginning of the mission, amounted already to above a thousand, who, with the children and the rest of the catechumens, made four thousand souls, who were under the care of the Brethren. Some of them consisted of *Creols*, that is, such as were born in the West Indies; but the greatest part were *Buffals*, who were bought in Africa, and transported hither. The Brethren reckoned more than sixty different nations of these Negroes, each of which has, in Africa, their own language, manners, and religious usages. They are all idolaters, offering various sorts of sacrifices; and some have circumcision among them. They are, most of them, lazy,
and,

and, when reduced to distress, desperate. Many of them are warlike, and sell their prisoners to the Europeans as slaves; though many even steal and sell their own friends and nearest relations. Some treat their prisoners with great cruelty; and devour them, not for want only, when pressed with hunger, but from revenge; on which account they sharpen their teeth with a file, like the teeth of a saw. But some are more sensible, laborious, and orderly, than others; and many are sold to the West Indies, who, in their native country, have been instructed in Christianity, and baptized by the Portuguese.

In *St. Thomas*, the Brethren had twenty-four helpers from among the natives, who, in the extensive labour among the Negroes, afforded them great service. The business of these national helpers is, to visit and speak with those living in their districts. Every Sunday they have a conference with the missionaries, when they give an account of the souls, and receive good advice. Some of them are used with blessing in holding meetings, when the missionaries, for want of time or health, are not able to supply all the places.

In *St. Croix*, the missionary still lived on the plantation of the company, called, *Princess*. But the Brethren in *St. Thomas* bought a piece of land, of four acres, for a thousand pieces of eight, on which afterwards a church, with a dwelling-house, was built, and called, *Friedensthal*. At the west end of the island, where a town was laid out, also a great awakening took place among the Negroes, whom the missionary assiduously visited; and, in the interim, the Negro *David*, a master mason, held their meetings.

In *St. Jan*, where the Brethren were already in possession of a piece of land, the Negroes most earnestly intreated for a missionary to reside constantly among them; and offered to build him an house. Although the Brethren took their will for the deed; yet they saw, in this instance, their earnest desire for their own salvation and that of their children.

When

When they afterwards obtained a Brother, the number of the baptized soon remarkably increased *.

§ 191.

By means of the preaching of the gospel at *London*, some persons of character were gained. Among these were some gentlemen from *Jamaica*, who had considerable estates there, and many Negroes; for the conversion of whom they had formerly taken several laudable, but fruitless, steps, and spared no expence. Upon a nearer acquaintance with the Brethren, having an opportunity of hearing accounts of the great work of God among the Heathen, and especially among the Negroes, the praise-worthy concern for the salvation of their slaves was renewed in them. They requested the ordinary to procure some Brethren to preach the gospel to their Negroes. They, in particular, desired that *Zacharias George Caries*, whose sermons and conversation had been much blessed to them, might be appointed for that purpose. This Brother consented to it; and, though the ordinary was not without his scruples in this affair, yet he was dispatched to *Jamaica*, in October 1754, with two other Brethren.

Every thing went quite differently from what could be expected. For, though the beginning of any undertaking, especially in the kingdom of Christ, being a kingdom of the cross, is usually attended with difficulties; yet here, every thing proceeded with remarkable ease. The aforesaid gentlemen supported the Brethren in externals. They built an house for them on a piece of land which they had given for the use of the mission, which was called, *Carmel*; and encouraged their Negroes to hear the gospel, by affording them all the necessary liberty for it. The Negroes present-

* See *Oldendorp's History of the Mission of the Evangelical Brethren in the Caribbee Islands, &c.*

ly flocked together in such numbers, that, at the end of the year 1755, eight hundred hearers were computed, of whom twenty-six were baptized. The missionary commonly preached to the Negroes in three places, belonging to the before-mentioned gentlemen; and was, besides, invited by several other gentlemen, to declare the word of God also to their Negroes; which he did with joy, as far as his time would allow. On the part of the white people, he scarcely met with any opposition; and such as were in some respect opponents, were won, as soon as they saw and heard him. They came in numbers to hear the sermons addressed to the Negroes. But since they were often an hinderance to him in preaching to the Negroes, he determined to preach to them separately. Nor was he without blessing among them, in rescuing some from the way of perdition, and seeing several, at their end, depart in reliance upon the merits of Jesus.

§ 192.

IN *Berbice*, the work of God among the Indians prospered, and spread more and more, notwithstanding all the hardships the mission was involved in, through envy and false accusations of seven years continuance. (§ 168.) The occasion of these difficulties was, that it was required of the missionaries to take an oath, and to exercise in the use of arms; which demand they had been exempted from eleven years before, though they had obtained no written privilege for it, as in *Surinam*. It was likewise required of them, not to draw the Indians to themselves, nor withhold them from the service of the company; although the Indians, a few excepted, came, of their own accord, from far countries. It was also required of them to urge the baptized to assist at the fishery, and other services of the colony. They were, several times, cited, on this head, before the council; and, though the missionary gave very solid answers, so, that the
sincere

sincere intention of the Brethren, and the reality of the conversion of the Heathen, evidently appeared, yet the above and other requisitions were insisted upon, with the intimation, that, in case of refusal, they should quit the country. And indeed, *Lewis Christopher Dehne*, who arrived in 1751, was immediately sent back with the same ship that brought him. It is true, some gentlemen, who feared God, endeavoured to prevent the entire prohibition of the Brethren from attempting to convert the Heathen, or sending them all out of the country. There was also reason to believe, that, on the representations of these gentlemen, and of the Brethren in Europe, to the higher powers, gracious orders were sent on their behalf. The governor himself, on a tour through the country, coming to *Pilgerhut*, seeing, examining, and, as he declared, finding every thing better than was reported to him, the Brethren hoped for better times. Some Indians were also, upon demand, sent to the colony, to assist in the fishery, under proper inspection. But, nevertheless, the mission obtained no complete rest and safety, and still met with many disagreeable occurrences, which not only laid many impediments in their way, but might even have promoted its entire ruin. By occasion of a failure in the crop, soldiers came to buy cassabi-roots of the Indians; and these being in want themselves, the roots were taken by force from the Indians living with the Brethren, and those not yet ripe were wantonly destroyed. The poor Indians, indeed, bore this with patience; but, it being several times repeated in the space of three years, they, at last, were obliged to look out in the wilderness for places to plant, especially about the river *Wikky*, where they had not to expect the like treatment. By this means, a dispersion of them was effected, which proved highly injurious to the mission.

In the mean time, the congregation was greatly increased, and the sound of the gospel reached farther and farther. Many Indians came from the rivers *Surinam*, *Corentyn*,

Isequeb, Wikky, Demerary, Canjen, Ouranoque, &c. to which places the Brethren could not go. I find, in the accounts, besides the *Arawaks*, of whom the congregation chiefly consisted, and in whose language the gospel was preached, the following nations mentioned, who, at least, have yielded some first-fruits: The *Aquaies*, the *Waraues*, and the *Caribbees*, or *Calepina*; some of whom are esteemed barbarians by the *Arawaks* themselves, they being cruel to their enemies.

The Indian congregation at *Pilgerhut* was settled in a very regular manner, and went on in a pleasing way. The missionaries had also the satisfaction to train up helpers from among them, whose inspection, good advice, conversation, and discourses were greatly blessed to their countrymen. Those who were dispersed in the *Savannah*, or wilderness, some from fear of ill treatment, some from want of sustenance, or other reasons, proved, in like manner, by their words and behaviour, a blessing to many Heathen, although, as may be easily supposed, many suffered damage, which, indeed, was healed from time to time, yet could not entirely be remedied.

About this time, in the year 1754, an opportunity offered for the renewal of the mission in *Surinam*, which shall be related in its connexion, in the following Part.

§ 193.

IN the year 1750, by means of a French gentleman, who, as he said, had been in *Ethiopia*, and who aimed at returning thither by the assistance of an European power, the former desire of the Brethren was renewed, of entering into an useful acquaintance with the *Ethiopian church*, in which, according to their liturgies, a good deal of the old apostolical simplicity was expected to be met with; and the Brethren wished to be of some service to this church.

The physician, *Frederic William Hokker*, who had been in Persia and Egypt, (§ 170.) took the matter to heart; and, in the year 1752, proposed to the ordinary, that he would go to *Cairo*, in *Egypt*, and wait there for an opportunity of going to *Ethiopia*. His intention was, to practise there as a physician, to learn the Arabic language, to establish an intercourse with the patriarch of the *Copts*, whose office it is to consecrate the *Abuna*, or archbishop, of the *Abyssinians*; and, through him, to obtain an acquaintance with the *Abuna*; and to offer to them the services of the church of the Brethren. The ordinary was pleased with this proposal, and gave him credentials to the patriarch of the *Copts*, residing in *Cairo*. In May, 1752, *Hokker* went from London, by way of Genoa and Leghorn, to *Egypt*, and reached *Cairo* on the 27th of August. He hired an house, in which he also entertained, for some time, the students *Schulz* and *Woltersdorf*, who were sent by the Hallish institution for the conversion of the Jews. He prepared for the practice of physic, and entered into an useful acquaintance with the *Franks* residing there. (So all Europeans are called in *Turkey*.) Having so far learned the Arabic language, which is also used in *Abyssinia*, and has some connexion with the language of the country, as to be able to express himself tolerably well, and translate his credentials into it; he delivered them on the 28th of November, 1753, to the patriarch of the Coptic church, and had many agreeable and useful conversations with him concerning the descent, doctrine, and constitution of the church of the Brethren, and the state of the Coptic and Abyssinian church; during which, the tears often stood in the eyes of this venerable hoary old man. On the fifth day of *Kahik*, according to the Coptic calendar, which was the 12th of December, 1753, he received an answer in the Arabic tongue, of which, omitting the titles usual in the East, I will communicate the following :

“ In

“ In the name of the merciful and gracious God. In
 “ God is salvation. From *Mark* *, the servant of the serv-
 “ ants of the Lord. The peace of our Lord and God,
 “ and the Captain of our salvation, Jesus Christ, which he,
 “ in an upper room at Zion, poured forth upon the
 “ assembly of the excellent disciples and apostles; may he
 “ pour out this peace upon the beloved, excellent, and ex-
 “ perient Brother, the venerable bishop, our father *Aloy-*
 “ *sus* †, the liturgist of the Unity of the Brethren.—This
 “ is to testify, beloved Brother, that the blessed son and ve-
 “ nerable deacon, *Irenæus* ‡ *Hokker*, has delivered unto us
 “ your letter, which was full of affectionate cordial love.
 “ We have read it; and it became unto us a taste of your
 “ love to all Christian men. We, in like manner, pray
 “ God for you, and for all the Christian people, that he
 “ may exalt the glory of the Christians in the whole habit-
 “ able world, through the nutrition of his life-giving
 “ cros,” &c.

§ 194.

As to the journey to *Abyssinia*, *Hokker* enquired occasion-
 ally, in particular of a native of that country, after the cir-
 cumstances of it; and learned, among other things, that, at
 that time, a Greek was at the helm of the government as
 prime minister, and that he endeavoured to draw foreign
 colonists into the country. In the mean time, the above-
 mentioned French gentleman arrived at *Cairo*, with a great
 retinue and character, in order to go, up the *Nile*, to *Abyf-*

* The patriarchs of the Copts, who also bear the title of
 patriarchs of Alexandria, Jerusalem, Abyssinia, and Nubia,
 are all called after the evangelist *Mark*. who is said to have
 founded the church at Alexandria; and this patriarch was *Mark*
 CVI.

† *Lewis*

‡ *Frederic*, or, in German, *Friedrich*, that is, *Rich in Peace*.

finia, and wanted to persuade Hokker to go with him. He neither could nor would engage himself with him, especially as the way up the Nile, by reason of many large cataracts, is impracticable; and accordingly, this gentleman, after many difficulties and expences, was obliged to return without executing his purpose. But, on this occasion, Hokker's proper design became more known than he liked; and it might have caused him much inconvenience, if God had not held his hand over him. There was no other way, but to go, along the Red Sea, by way of *Mazwa*, to *Gondar*, the chief city in *Abyssinia*. But, since all the sea-ports in those parts are in the hands of the Turks, who, from reasons of state, suffer not easily an European to come in or go out; he resolved to provide himself with a *Ferman*, or pass, from the grand seignior, and then, in autumn 1754, to embark on the Red Sea. For this end, he went, in the spring of the year, by way of *Smyrna*, to *Constantinople*, just at the time when the plague raged there. He was treated with much distinction by the English and other ambassadors, and had opportunities, here and there, to recommend the merits of Christ, as the only cause and means of our salvation, and to give many gentlemen just ideas of the church of the Brethren. He obtained more than he sought for; a ferman from the grand seignior, a rescript from the grand vizier to the bashaw at *Gidda* on the Red Sea, a letter from the sharaff at Constantinople to the sharaff at Cairo; and, besides, some letters from the ambassadors to the consuls of their nations, and a recommendation from the English ambassador to the prime minister in *Abyssinia*, who had formerly been in the service of the English. With these he returned to *Alexandria* in Egypt. But as, mean while, the best season for travelling was elapsed, he chose to stay the winter there and at Cairo, in order to provide himself with the necessaries for his journey. In the interim, the grand seignior died; and thus the validity of his ferman ceased.

Great disturbances arose in Egypt, which were attended with much danger; on account of the robbers. He, therefore, determined to wait for more peaceable times; and, in the interval, to visit in the congregations. He set off from Cairo, May the 3d, 1755, and arrived at Leghorn, the 2d of July, from whence he continued his journey, by way of Vienna, and through Bohemia, to Herrnhut, where he arrived on the 8th of September.

THE
MODERN HISTORY
OF THE
BRETHREN.

PART VIII.

*From the Ordinary's Return to Germany in 1755, to
his Decease in 1760.*

§ 195.

WE now return to the ordinary, who, after an abode of near four years in England, set off, in 1755, for Holland and Germany, and, on the 31st of March, arrived at *Zeist*. The number of inhabitants of this place, since 1750, was considerably augmented by Brethren from *Herrnhaag* and other places. A company of wealthy friends had agreed together, both to build houses here for themselves, and to furnish the new inhabitants with the needful buildings and workshops for their businesses, on the payment of a moderate interest. But the plan of the place was laid out too large, and met with difficulties in the execution, which caused many of the aforesaid friends to draw back. Other misunderstandings arising, in these years, among the members of the congregation in Holland, caused several to separate ; but part of them returned some time after. The congregation

congregation at Zeist enjoyed uninterrupted rest under the protection of their kind magistrates, and was continually visited by strangers. Her Royal highness, the governante, with her young prince, the hereditary stattholder, and the princess Carolina, now consort of the prince of Nassau Weilburg; likewise Lewis, duke of Brunswic Wolfenbuettel, visited this place at different times in the years 1753, 1754, and 1755. They enquired into every thing, took a view of the choir-houses and other laudable institutions, attended divine service, and showed much satisfaction and pleasure at the regulations of the congregation.

The ordinary, at his visit, found this congregation in general in a blessed state, though some of the before-mentioned difficulties were still remaining, which caused him some heavy hours. He was faithfully intent upon promoting the welfare of the congregation with counsel and deed. He edified it, both by his discourses and by private conversations with individual inhabitants; in which also many Brethren and friends took share, who came on visits during his abode here.

§ 196.

FROM hence the ordinary went to *New Wied* upon the Rhine. The French colony, which the lord of the territory, count *John-Frederic Alexander of Wied*, had, in the year 1750, invited hither from Herrnhag, and to which, after an examination of the doctrine and constitution of the Brethren, he had given a grant of their civil and ecclesiastical privileges, dated the 9th of August, 1751, (§ 158.) enjoyed from him all kindness and protection. But no building, or any establishment of useful trades and manufactures, had yet taken place. In the year 1753, it was even taken into consideration, whether the few colonists should not be distributed into other congregations? The count, unwilling that this should be done, corresponded with the ordinary about

the way and manner of settling this colony on a better footing. After mature consideration of all circumstances, it was resolved, in the year 1754, that the Brethren should stay and build at New Wied. During the ordinary's abode, the matter was farther considered, and the necessary resolutions agreed upon.

§ 197.

HE then pursued his journey, and arrived at *New Dietendorf* in the duchy of *Gotha*; where, after ten years difficulties, (§ 109.) it seemed at length that a colony of the Brethren would be established. Since the year 1752, the circumstances were remarkably altered. *Monf. De Luedeke*, a member of the Brethren's congregation, bought this place of the countess of *Kosboth*, formerly countess of *Promnitz*. On applying for the confirmation of the purchase at *Gotha*, in February 1753, he found the disposition of the court, and of the spiritual and temporal departments, greatly changed. The quiet behaviour and diligence of the few inhabitants that were left at *New Dietendorf*, the favourable testimony of the neighbouring clergymen, who administered the sacraments to them, and the good example of some of the duke's household, in connexion with the Brethren, had occasioned this alteration. *Luedeke*, on occasion of his confirmation and investiture, perceived plainly that it would be agreeable to the court, if he could people the place with useful manufacturers. The consistory urged the supplying it with a proper parish-minister. A candidate for the ministry, who was a native of the duchy of *Gotha*, and was known to have a love for the Brethren, and in whom they might confide, was proposed to be the parish-minister. He was called in September 1753, and, after the usual examination, ordained and inducted. He performed his function according to the ritual of *Gotha*; and, with the previous knowledge of his superiors, left the Brethren, who

who observed the duties of faithful parishioners, at liberty, besides the public service at church, to edify themselves and their children in the manner practised in other congregations of the Brethren; in which he also faithfully assisted them, to the best of his power. But still some years passed, before the inhabitants were increased from other congregations, and tradesmen and manufacturers could settle there. In the mean time, the preaching of the gospel proved a blessing to many from the circumjacent parts, who also made use of the Brethren's advice for their own edification, and that of their families.

In this state the ordinary found the inhabitants of this place. He took a view of the circumstances, and considered in what manner the welfare of the place might be forwarded. After spending a day here, he pursued his journey to *Ebersdorf* in *Vogtland*, where he staid eight days, agreeably employed with his nephew, the reigning count. He held a conference with the labourers, and delivered some discourses to the congregation, the state of which, to this time, has been described in § 132.

§ 198.

ON his way to Herrnhut, he called at *Klein Welke*, near Budissin. Here, since the decease of the late lord lieutenant of Upper Lusatia, count *Gersdorf*, in 1751, was the gathering-place of the awakened of the *Vandal* nation. (§ 148.) They built an addition to the mansion-house, and threw some rooms together for a meeting-hall. Those who lived in villages at a distance, went thither to the meetings once or twice in a month, after attending divine service in their churches; and, on week-days, they met together in their places in small societies, in order to edify one another. Some also removed to *Klein Welke*, and built there. These had their children baptized by one of the neighbouring clergymen; but desired, at the same time, a previous declaration,

claration, in writing, that no parochial claim should be inferred from thence, which this place and some other adjacent villages are exempted from. The awakening among the Vandals had increased very much in the four years since count Gerfsdorf's death, and had extended even to Lower Lusatia, through a late acquaintance with some Vandals, who had been awakened by the preaching of the Rev. *George Petermann*, formerly Bohemian minister at *Vetschau*.

The ordinary rejoiced the children, who had been transplanted from *Wetteravia* into the institution of count Gerfsdorf at *Uhyst*, with a short visit; and from thence pursued his journey to *Niesky*.

§ 199.

NIESKY was built for Bohemian colonists, according to § 113: but most of them were removed to Berlin. Since the year 1751, several German Brethren, from *Herrnhaag* and other places, had resorted hither; and by this, as also by placing part of the children's œconomy here, the means of a livelihood, and the enlargement of the place, were greatly promoted. The meetings, before this, had been held in the Bohemian language; but now they were held, alternately, in German and Bohemian. Out of love to the Bohemians, some tutors in the children's œconomy learned their language, and laboured afterwards among them and the Vandals with blessing. Since the publication of the edict of the elector of Saxony, in the year 1750, confirming the privileges of the Brethren, the congregation of *Niesky* began not only to have the holy communion, by the ministrations of an ordained Brother, for themselves alone; whereas before they went to the communion to *Herrnhut* or *Bertholdsdorf*: but, in the year 1752, the often-mentioned *Arvid Gradin* baptized, in the mansion-house at *Trebus*, the new-born

born son of the steward of the manor; whereas, before this time, baptism was administered by a neighbouring clergyman. The minister and the patrons of the adjoining parish of *Haynichen*, to which Trebus belongs, complained of this baptism, as an encroachment on the parochial rights of their church, and, besides, attempted to include the colonists at Niesky within the limits of the same parish, because they lived on the land belonging to their parish-hamlet Trebus. The king's privy council interposed, and issued an order, that this affair should be amicably adjusted by mutual agreement, which was accordingly effected before the high court of judicature at *Budissin*, in the year 1752; by virtue of which, the patrons of the church and the minister relinquished their asserted right over the Brethren's colony at Niesky, and also over the Brethren dwelling in the mansion-house at Trebus, for a certain sum paid once for all to the church; and thus Niesky obtained the privilege of having its own proper minister.

The ordinary staid a week at this place, held conferences with the labourers, rejoiced the congregation, the different choirs, and the children, with edifying homilies, and, June the 2d, proceeded on his journey to Herrnhut.

§ 200.

HERRNHUT was very much increased, since the year 1751, in the number of its inhabitants, who had begun several useful trades, by which a share of their work and a means of livelihood extended to the adjacent villages. The place enjoyed all desirable favour, protection, and furtherance from government. About this time, Herrnhut began to be much taken notice of, and considered in another light than it had been hitherto; to which the oeconomics of children, that were removed out of Wetteravia to this place,

place, and to these parts, contributed greatly. Families of high rank, and other eminent persons in church and state, both from the neighbourhood, and from distant countries, visited this once so defamed place, with a view to become acquainted with the inward and outward constitution of it. This not only furnished the inhabitants with work; but there is also good ground to believe, that most of these visitants went away with a good impression, which was blessed to their own souls, and which some of them spread in their own places. And, in truth, amidst the many defects and infirmities which were evident here and there, this was a truly blessed time in the congregation. This made the residence here very agreeable to the inhabitants; and yet they stood prepared to relinquish even this commodious situation, the moment they knew that they could serve their Lord and Saviour in other places among Christians or Heathens. When any went, their places were soon, and commonly doubly, supplied, which obliged them constantly to build more houses. Accordingly, in the year 1755 alone, some new family-houses and workshops were built. The single Brethren were under a necessity again to enlarge their house, and build a new wing; and the single Sisters, who had hitherto lived inconveniently in several contiguous houses, laid the foundation-stone of a spacious choir-house.

The ordinary had always been dubious what effects the great growth of the congregation-settlements might have. But when he saw so many lovely and blessed consequences arising from thence in this and in other congregations, since the commission at Gross Hennerdorf, and particularly during the last four years of his absence, he was excited to acknowledge and praise, also in this, the work of God. But yet, this progress made him so much the more vigilant and zealous, to protest with earnestness against every thing irregular, and to labour, in concert with the apostle *Paul*, in his discourses addressed to the congregation and the choirs, that a chaste virgin might be presented to Christ. To this end, he held frequent

frequent conferences with the labourers; both of this and other congregations, who came on a visit from time to time, concerning the state of their places, and considered with them, before the Lord, how matters might be best forwarded in the whole and in the parts.

I am enabled to give an account of the ordinary's transactions on this and other visits, which soon followed in the congregations, with the more authenticity, as I attended him, heard all his discourses, and took them down, in order to their being communicated to other congregations, and to the Heathen-missionaries.

§ 201.

THE ordinary bestowed, in particular, much labour upon the children's œconomies, which, during his residence in England, were transplanted from Wetteravia to Upper Lusatia, by way of Eberfsdorf and Barby, where two divisions of them staid for some time; together with some children of labourers and pilgrims, from Holland and other places. The œconomy of boys was distributed in *Niesky*, *Uhýst*, and *Grofs Hennerfsdorf*, and that of girls was settled at Herrnhut. Here was, besides, a school established for the boys, and another for the girls, whose parents lived in the place. But this situation of the œconomies was found inconvenient in several respects; for which reason the œconomy at Niesky was, in the year 1756, removed to Hennerfsdorf, and joined to that already there; and the œconomy at Uhýst was transplanted to Niesky.

The ordinary frequently visited these œconomies, made separate collections of scripture-texts for the use of the children, after the model of the daily words, containing a text for every day in the year; on which he, from time to time, delivered *Discourses to the Children*. These discourses were so distinguished by their simplicity, plainness, and solidity, that they were read with great pleasure in the other congregations,

congregations, and therefore printed. He also composed a little *Hymn-book for the Children*, of short select verses out of ancient and new hymns. He often held them singing-meetings, and, when they had a love-feast, which was commonly on Saturday, he used to catechise them in singing. The method of this was, that he sang a line or two of a verse turned into a question, and the children sang the remainder by way of answer. Sometimes they themselves held the singing-meeting with well-connected verses; and this too they often did at their work, or in their walks. Persons that had an opportunity of attending such meetings, (and often large companies of strangers, who were there on a visit, pressed in) knew not which to admire most, the promptness of the children, the melody of their voices, the connexion of the subjects, (by which generally the text of the day was illustrated in singing) their order, serenity, and devotion, or the chearful and heavenly look of their countenances. At the same time it was sensibly felt, that God was in the midst of them, and perfected his praise out of the mouth of babes.

§ 202.

BUT I must mention a fifth œconomy, which was settled at *Barby*. As early as the year 1749, the *Seminary* of the Brethren was transplanted from Marienborn hither, together with the company of writers, who had the charge of copying the accounts of the progress of the work of God through the service of the Brethren, and the homilies of the ordinary, which were sent to the congregations and missions. Since that time, the seminary had not received such a supply of students from the universities, as before. Hence it became necessary to think of training up young people from the congregations for their future service. The youths of birth and condition, who studied in the *Pædagogium*, multiplied, and grew apace. Some were sent to universities; but the issue was not agreeable with respect to several

several of them; so that the Brethren dreaded the same detriment, which the ancient Brethren in Bohemia and Moravia had lamented, and which had induced them to alter the old method of having their youth first privately instructed by ministers, and then sending them to universities; and to erect schools of their own*. For these and other reasons, in the year 1754, an *Academy*, or *College*, was instituted at *Barby* for students from the congregations of the Brethren, in which they were instructed in the most essential parts of divinity, the law, and physic, and perfected in languages, mathematics, and other useful sciences. After the completion of their studies, it was submitted to their parents or guardians, whether they would send them to other universities, or upon travels to other countries; and, in this case, due care was taken, that they might be under the conduct of some experienced Brother, and that they might be sent to such places, where the aim of such travels might be obtained with the least expence, and, if possible, without any detriment to their souls.

The ordinary visited this institution the first time in October of the year 1755. He was pleased with the regulations, conferred with the tutors, saw and spoke with all the members of it, and held them several discourses. Some of the students were received as acoluths of the church of the Brethren. Many Brethren and friends, from the parts adjacent, embraced this opportunity of visiting here, and attended with blessing the discourses, which the ordinary delivered to the congregation, and the sermons in the chapel of the palace, preached by the chaplain, *Gottfried Clemens*, and by one or another clergyman, being there on a visit. This congregation, indeed, was yet very small; but its peaceful stillness, and the good order with which the frequent visits of friends around was conducted, made the ordinary's abode here very agreeable to him.

* See the *Ancient History of the Brethren*, § 37.

I must still mention, that the princess of *Anhalt Zerbst*; mother of the then grand-duchess, present empress of Russia; several times honoured the college at Barby with her visits, and expressed her satisfaction and approbation.

§ 203.

THE ordinary, after his return to Upper Lusatia, took up his abode in the first house he had built at Bertholdsdorf, which he called, *Bethel*. This house was therefore agreeable to him, because the œconomy of grace in the renewed Unity of the Brethren was, in some measure, first begun in it; and on account of the blessed meetings, in which he formerly repeated the sermons of the Rev. Mr. *Rothe*, and the first conferences held with the Moravian Brethren, for removing the dissensions which arose among them in the beginning, and uniting their hearts. (§ 7, and 15.) Many of his subjects had attained to the knowledge of salvation, and some of them were employed in the service of God among Christians and Heathens. Here he, and some assistants, laboured assiduously for the benefit of the congregations of the Brethren. He visited frequently at Herrnhut and Henerisdorf, delivered homilies to the congregation, the choirs, and the children, and made a regulation, that all the inhabitants of Herrnhut might attend his family-meetings in certain divisions. As the people of Bertholdsdorf often expressed a desire to hear some discourses from their former lord, whose labours had redounded to the blessing of so many souls among Christians and Heathens, to which (as they expressed it) they had a prior right; he, therefore, every Sunday evening, delivered a discourse to them, at which they eagerly attended. These are the printed homilies, well known in Germany by the name of, *The Bertholdsdorf-Discourses*, and which have been read with much blessing, both in the Brethren's congregations, and by others.

There live many Brethren in this village, part of whom removed hither from Herrnhut, on account of the circumstances

stances of their families, part came from other places to enjoy liberty of conscience here, and part were won by the blessed preaching of the gospel in the parish-church: for the ordinary and his consort had been solicitous from the beginning to provide their vassals with such ministers as might build them up in doctrine and practice, and to appoint such stewards and bailiffs, as would not obstruct, but promote, their conversion. They paid particular attention to the awakened people among their vassals, and kept certain Brethren to be assistants to the minister in the spiritual care of their own and their children's souls.

§ 204.

FAITHFUL ministers had not been wanting likewise in other places in Upper Lusatia, for a long time past, whose labours produced fruit here and there. Soon after Herrnhut was begun, the evangelical sermons of Mr. Rothe at Bertholdsdorf were followed by multitudes from almost all the surrounding places far and near, and many of the hearers went from the preaching there to Herrnhut to be at the Brethren's meetings also. (§ 7, and 21.) By these means, a great number of awakened were found, many of whom joined themselves to the congregation at Herrnhut, and were led on by the counsel and care of the Brethren. Indeed, in the subsequent years, they fell into many parties, and the love of many waxed cold. But, about the year 1750, the greatest part recovered themselves, and their number increased, partly through the labours of certain ministers, who published the gospel in their pulpits with grace and power, and partly by the encouragement of certain lords of manors, who had an acquaintance with the Brethren. These ministers set on foot a conference with some learned and experienced Brethren of Herrnhut, which was held the first time at Bertholdsdorf in the year 1754, and has been continued ever since at Herrnhut with much blessing. They communicated

to each other an account of the state of the work of God in their congregations, which were mostly very numerous, and imparted to one another their mutual good counsel, for the furtherance of it. Many hundred awakened people of their parishes, and from other places, expressed an earnest desire to have a closer connexion with the Brethren. Almost every Sunday, Herrnhut was filled with such as came to attend the meetings, and to converse with the Brethren about the state of their own souls, and of those belonging to them. Many attempted to procure their freedom from their lords, and leave from the Brethren to move to Herrnhut. In order to prevent the greatest part of them from taking these steps, and yet to satisfy them, in some measure, in another way, it was thought proper to make a regulation among them, that they should not, as hitherto had been the case almost every Sunday, come to Herrnhut, often in very great numbers, which might give room for umbrage, disorder, and dissatisfaction; but only at certain times, and in appointed companies, in smaller numbers. They were to have their own meetings; and some Brethren were nominated, with whom they might converse more particularly. But, that they might have some opportunity for private edification in their own places, they were advised, with the approbation of their lords and ministers, who were in connexion with the congregation of the Brethren, to come together, in small companies, on certain days, after their work was finished, to sing and pray together, to read the Bible and other profitable books, to converse of the state of their hearts, and to comfort and encourage one another; but not to meddle with explaining the scriptures, and propounding their private opinions, which often genders strife. At the same time, they were exhorted, with earnestness as well as love, to behave themselves as dutiful subjects, faithful adherents to their religion, and orderly and diligent

members

members of society ; that so their walk, more than their words, might provoke others to faith and good works. A fundamental maxim of the Brethren in this regulation, and others of the kind, was, that all those, who would have any fellowship with them, should keep regularly to their churches and the sacraments ; and if, perhaps, the ministers of their places were prejudiced against the Brethren's congregation, they should, nevertheless, live in love and peace with them. Therefore, the Brethren would have nothing to do with such as raised contentions or other disorders, or were not willing to be put to rights, and to alter their principles. The same brotherly advice and exhortation was given to all the dispersed Brethren and friends every where. For, in almost all the Protestant countries in Germany and elsewhere, yea, even in some kingdoms where the Protestants are only tolerated, or are even under oppression, there were some, and in many places great numbers of, awakened souls, who availed themselves of the counsel and assistance of the Brethren. In most countries there was no want of ministers in the Lutheran and Reformed churches, who carried on the work of God in fellowship with the Brethren, and maintained a friendly correspondence with them. Almost every congregation of the Brethren had such ministers in their neighbourhood. With these divines, consultations were held, how it might be best to treat the awakened, so that they could enjoy all due spiritual care and edification in their own places, and all untimely inclination of removing to the congregations of the Brethren might be prevented.

This regulation was very acceptable to the awakened, and greatly blessed in its consequences. It had also this good effect, that many of their neighbours were incited to a more constant attendance upon divine service, and were fond of going to the holy communion at the same time with them ;

yea, many were converted with their whole hearts unto God. By these steps, the unfeigned good inclinations of the Brethren towards the Protestant church became undeniably manifest to all who would not be wilfully blind; the immoderate desire of many, to live in congregation-places, was suppressed; and the upright intention of the Brethren to support and promote the work of God in the Protestant religions, was happily successful, to the satisfaction and encouragement of many faithful and blessed ministers in these churches.

§ 205.

THE benefit which the choirs of single Brethren, in all the congregations, had reaped from the synodal conferences which the ordinary had held in Lindsey-house with the labourers of these choirs, soon after the decease of his son, in the year 1752, induced him to continue the same kind of conferences with them at Herrnhut. One consequence of it was, that many Brethren, and especially the rising youth, laid the state of their hearts before him in writing, upon which he spoke with them. This enabled him to render the usual choir-homilies, much blessed hitherto, still more solid and practical. Such conferences he also held in the year 1755, with those Sisters who had the charge of the choir of single Sisters at Herrnhut, and those present from other congregations, and continued them in 1756. He entered again, in general, during his abode at Herrnhut this time, more deeply into the internal labour in the congregation, which he had long desired; and employed himself, more than heretofore, with the more special care of the married people, the widowers, and the widows choirs. During his absence, the widowers had built, in 1753, a spacious choir-house next to that of the single Brethren, and regulated every thing very conveniently in it. The widows had hitherto dwelt in some houses which were laid together; but growing too numerous for their habitation, he helped

them, in 1759, to erect a new and more spacious choir-house. He held, both to the widowers and widows respectively, choir-homilies, to their comfort and edification. He made a regulation, that he, or, in his absence, some other labourer of the congregation, should devote some part of one day in the week to every choir, which was called, *The Choir-day*; and, whereas before, the homilies to the choirs were all held on Sundays, one after another, which was very fatiguing, now a discourse was delivered to each choir on its proper day, and consultations were held with the labourers of it concerning their inward and outward state. He, afterwards, composed particular litanies for the several choirs; and these litanies were sung, and choir-homilies held alternately on the choir-days. These regulations were productive of many blessings.

§ 206.

THE ordinary found, at Herrnhut, and in other congregations, many Moravians, who, since the first emigration, (which had mostly ceased since 1734,) had taken the opportunity of the war in Silesia and Bohemia, to leave their country, between the years 1741 and 1745. He believed, that God had not brought the posterity of the ancient Brethren out of their native country merely to enjoy their own salvation; but that, disregarding all temporal conveniences, they should serve him in his kingdom. They had already ventured, in faith, to take astonishing things in hand, and God had made use of their service to the salvation of many hundred souls. Most of the Heathen-missions had either been begun, or carried on, by Moravian Brethren. The remnant of the Moravian Brethren, their posterity, and those who emigrated since, amounted to several hundred souls. The ordinary wished, that they might zealously emulate the faith and apostolic courage of their parents and predecessors, and not entangle themselves with the affairs of this life, nor

please themselves in the conveniences to which they had not been accustomed, and which might disqualify them for the service of the kingdom of God. About these things he was desirous of speaking fully with them. To this end, he called together the labourers of the Moravian nation, and conferred with them about the present state of their people, through whom the whole Unity of the Brethren had received their right to their church-constitution and the episcopal ordination. At the conclusion, he held to all present, that were natives of Moravia, or their descendents, some discourses seasoned with salt and sweetened with love. His aim was, to renew in them the same mind which he once expressed in a birth-day ode made for a certain Moravian labourer, to this purpose :

“ The Brethren, coming from Moravia’s land,
 “ Have freely giv’n to Jesus heart and hand,
 “ To yield him joy, and be at his command.” }

These conferences with the Moravian labourers were held in August 1755, and continued in May 1756, and were attended with blessed consequences for their own souls, and for the service of Jesus among Christians and Heathens.

§ 207.

By these means, and the above-mentioned conferences with the labourers of several choirs, and other conversations with them, preparation was made for a general synod of the church of the Brethren, to which some deputies came to Herrnhut from all the congregations, and also from America, in the spring of the year 1756. One of the first transactions of it was on the 12th of May. On that day, in the year 1724, the house was begun to be built, in which afterwards was the meeting-hall, or chapel of the congregation at Herrnhut; (§ 10.) and now the foundation-stone of a new meeting-hall was laid, after the former, within

within the space of thirty-two years, had been four times enlarged, and always proved too small again. The synod itself was chiefly held at *Bethel*, and lasted from the 9th of June to the 5th of July. But it was interrupted a few days by the decease of lady *Erdmuth Dorothea*, countess of *Zinzendorf* and *Pottendorf*, by birth countess of *Reufs*, &c. a faithful and blessed nursing-mother of the church of the Brethren. She entered softly and happily into the joy of her Lord, after a short sickness, on the 19th of June 1756. Her venerable remains were attended to their resting-place, in the burying-ground on the *Hutberg*, (§ 21.) by the assembled bishops, ministers, and servants of the church of the Brethren. The noble character of this wife, faithful, and universally approved handmaid of Jesus, the remarkable occurrences of her life, and her manifold blessed labour in the kingdom of God, and particularly in the church of the Brethren, will be more properly inserted in the *Memoirs* of the life of her consort, who, since then, is also happily departed.

At this synod the doctrine and constitution of the church of the Brethren, the inward state of the congregations and their choirs, of the œconomies, missions, and colonies, and the outward œconomical state, were taken into mature consideration. Preparatory to this, a conference of revision was held, in July 1755, at *Taubenheim*, not far from *Herrnhut*. It was resolved at this synod, agreeably to a wish the ordinary had entertained for many years, to constitute a *Department for the Inspection and Direction of the Church of the Brethren, in all its Branches*, which was accordingly brought to bear in the year 1757.

§ 208.

AMONG others, deputies were present from the Bohemian Brethren's congregations at *Berlin* and *Rueksdorf*. They laid before the synod an historical account, drawn up by

their minister, *Zacharias Gelinek*, from the verbal and written relations of the members of his congregation, showing, that they were the posterity of the ancient Bohemian Brethren; that the major part of them came from the district of *Lititz*, the first seat of the Unity; (§ 14.) that, since their emigration, they had been in fellowship with the Moravian Brethren, and acknowledged in this character by a Royal commission in the year 1747. (§ 43, 44, 45, 77, 113, 114, 164.) Since then, they had continued their divine service and regulations in stillness and good order, and had been countenanced in it by their former minister, *Augustin Schulz*, and protected by the patrons of the Bohemian nation at Berlin. Having been much increased, and the meeting-place they had used hitherto, now being too small, they bought a spacious house in William-street, and fitted part of it for a meeting-hall, which was consecrated, on the 26th of September, 1751, by the Rev. Mr. Schulz. He, according to an agreement with the ordinary, (§ 114.) administered the Lord's supper to the German and Bohemian Brethren in the hospital-church of St. Gertrude, and baptized the Bohemian children in the Brethren's meeting-hall. On the 15th of April 1752, this faithful and blessed minister entered into the joy of his Lord, having served the Bohemian Brethren in the gospel twenty-four years, and kept up their fellowship with the Moravian Brethren. Agreeably to a declaration made to the Royal commission, they now applied to the Unity of the Brethren, and desired them to give them a minister, as the late Mr. Schulz had advised them. The ordinary made other proposals to them. But not finding them feasible, they, by the advice of one of the king's cabinet-counsellors, with whom they treated this affair, gave a call to the deacon *Zacharias Gelinek*, or *Hirschel*, to be their minister, having been, for some years, the late Augustin Schulz's assistant with blessing. This choice was approved by the Brethren.

Their numbers multiplied from year to year, partly by emigrants coming directly from Bohemia and Moravia,
partly

partly by others, who went to Berlin from Silesia; to which country, during the war in 1741 and 1742, great numbers had fled from their native country. In *Rueßdorf* also, the flock being grown too numerous for the meeting-hall, they, by permission of the king, built a large house for a school for boys; in which, by order of the king, they were assisted by the board of war and finances with materials for building. In this house they built also a spacious chapel, which was consecrated on the 7th of April 1754.

These two Bohemian congregations having thus wholly joined themselves to the Unity of the Brethren, it was thought proper at this synod, now to grant them all the privileges of the Brethren's church. In this view, at the close of the synod, *Andrew Grafmann* was consecrated a bishop for the Bohemian branch of the church of the Brethren.

§ 209.

SOON after this synod, a war broke out in Germany, which had long been carried on at sea, and in America. It soon spread itself into all those parts where congregations of the Brethren were settled. It seemed as if Divine Providence intended to prepare them for the manifold dangers and distresses that awaited them; but, at the same time, to encourage them to repose a child-like confidence in the Lord of hosts. For, on the very day when the first troops were seen on their march in Saxony and Silesia at the same time, the text for the day was, *When ye shall hear of wars and commotions, be not terrified*, (Luke xxi. 9.)

“As children well attended,

“And with all care defended.”

All the congregations in Germany and in America were molested by this war in various ways, and most of them to a very high degree sustained great loss and damage. The congregations in Holland, England, and Ireland alone continued in peace, excepting a short alarm in the North of Ireland,

Ireland, at the landing of some French troops. The congregations in Saxony and Silesia suffered most. For though the greatest part of them were favoured with protections, or safeguards, from the generals of both the opposite armies; yet the calamities, which are the natural concomitants of war, could not be avoided, how willing soever the commanders in chief were to avert them. Often were they filled with painful anxiety, at the grievous circumstances attending the frequent marches of both armies from Bohemia to Saxony and Silesia; at their encampments near Herrnhut and around Gnadenberg, for several days; at both which places they were in perpetual apprehension of a battle; at the marches of numerous bodies of troops through their places, their foraging, and exacting provisions and contributions, by which many estates were almost totally stripped; and at the dangerous movements of the armies in Silesia and Upper Lusatia; but more particularly at so many battles and sieges in the neighbourhood of the Brethren's congregations. These complicated perils and distresses brought the Brethren present into great anxiety, and those absent into great solicitude with respect to the Brethren over whom such dangers hung.

But it would be too tedious, nor is it my design, to particularize all the troubles and distresses which, during this war, have befallen the Brethren at *Gnadenfrey*, *Gnadenberg*, and *Newsalz*, in Silesia, (which last place, as we shall see hereafter, was entirely destroyed and burnt) also *Herrnhut*, *Niesky*, *Klein Welke*, and the estates belonging to individual members of the congregations in Upper Lusatia; likewise *Barby*, *Berlin* and *Rueksdorf*, *Ebersdorf* and *New Dietendorf*, *Marienborn* and *New Wied*. We will reserve the most memorable events till we come to the end of the war, and then render our praises to our heavenly father for his marvellous help, protection, and deliverance.

§ 210.

DURING this war, the ordinary took several journeys to the congregations, and passed every where without much difficulty. In autumn of 1756 he made a visit to *Barby*, and at the end of the year returned to *Herrnhut*, by the way of *Niesky*. In the year 1757, he visited the three congregations in *Silesia*, which he had not seen for seven years. These congregations were not hindered in their growth amidst all the troubles of war, and brought their trades into better order, which gave great satisfaction to the supreme and inferior magistrates. It was even observed at different times, that the king, on his journeys through *New-salz*, showed a particular pleasure at this settlement.

Among the Bohemians, who came to *Silesia* in the years 1741 and 1742 *, there had been some emotions at sundry times, giving rise to various kinds of fanaticism and disorder, which some would have laid to the charge of the Brethren, though they had not, hitherto, had the least acquaintance with them. These Bohemians had rather been warned to beware of the Brethren, and had been prejudiced against them by various false insinuations. But since that time, some of them, having sought for the Brethren at *Gnadenfrey*, requested to be taken under their care; and, according to the right which they claimed to the Unity of the Brethren, desired that they would send them ministers, or else appoint them a spot for a settlement, in the neighbourhood of one of their congregations. But the congregation at *Gnadenfrey* could not accommodate them, as they desired, on account of the difference of their language; and therefore referred

* Since that time, they have built the following places: *Huf-sinetz* and *Podiebrad*, near *Strehlen*, *Frederic's Graetz*, near *Op-peln*, and *Frederic's Tabor* and *Ziska*, near *Wartenberg*. Some of them went to *Berlin*, and settled, with the Bohemians who were there before, at *Shoenberg*, near *Berlin*, at *Nowa Wis*, near *Potsdam*, at *Schoenlinde* and *Frederic's Hagen*, near *Koepenik*.

them to the Bohemian Brethren's congregation at *Berlin*. These sent deputies to visit them, the first time in the year 1754, and continued so to do several times afterwards. In process of time they attempted to build a place for themselves. But as they could not effect it, some of them removed to *Berlin* and *Rueksdorf*, and now are joined to this congregation of Bohemian Brethren. The residue are still waiting for the Brethren to take them under their more special care; but the Brethren have not as yet been enabled to gratify them in the manner they wish.

§ 211.

TOWARDS autumn of 1757, the ordinary made a journey to *Switzerland*, by way of *Barby* and *Marienborn*. This last place, which has been repeatedly mentioned, where the ordinary had resided some years with his household, and where the seat of the Brethren's seminary had been, was reduced, since the emigration from *Herrnhaag* in the year 1753, to a few families, besides the Brethren required for the farm. They were favoured with the kind patronage of the illustrious house of the count of *Ysenburg Meerholz*, the territorial lord. They continued, in their degree, the same congregation-regulations, as had been before made at *Marienborn*; and had many visits from the parts adjacent, and many hearers at the preaching. They had various difficulties to encounter during the war, and especially before and after the battle of *Bergen* in 1759, when this palace was the head-quarters of the allied army for some days: but were graciously preserved amidst all these circumstances, and enjoyed much friendship and kindness from the officers of both armies.

From hence, the ordinary continued his journey by way of *Heidelberg* and *Basil*, to *Montmirail* on the lake of *Neuburg*. Here he found, at the house of Baron *De Watteville*, senior, a company of friends from *Switzerland* and the *Grisons*,

Grifons, who were desirous of a nearer acquaintance with him. He had some private conversations with them, and held them sundry discourses, in which he endeavoured to incite, and to instruct them, how they might enjoy the salvation which Jesus has purchased for us, in their religion, and in their outward calling, walking according to the mind of Christ; moreover, how they might be an edification to their neighbours and fellow-citizens, by a faithful observance of their civil duties; as also how to adorn their religion, and assist in preventing its decay, by a sincere and unaffected devotion in the church, pursuant to the example of our Saviour and his disciples. These discourses, and some others, were printed in German under this title: *Sundry Discourses of the Ordinary of the Brethren, delivered mostly on his Journeys in the Year 1757.*

From Montmirail, he made a visit to *Geneva*; and returned to Germany by way of *Bern, Arau, Basil, and Schaffhausen*, through the duchy of *Wuerttemberg*, and arrived towards Christmas at *Ebersdorf*, with a severe disorder upon him.

§ 212.

AT *Ebersdorf* he paid some attention to his sickness, and yet continued his labour for the benefit of this and other congregations. It was particularly recommended to the labourers here to do their utmost for the furtherance of the settlement at *New Dietendorf*; since the duke of *Gotha* had expressed his satisfaction at the beginning of it, promising his assistance, if they would build, and begin such useful trades and institutions here, as they had in other congregation-places. Upon this, the single Brethren, in the year 1758, made the beginning of building a choir-house, which soon afforded more employment, and brought more inhabitants from far and near, who were encouraged by some gracious visits of their sovereign and his court, and by the several

several departments of government, to proceed in the enlargement of this settlement.

The ordinary went from Ebersdorf back to *Herrnhut*, and there adjusted a perpetual agreement, under the direction of the jurisdiction of the manor, between the congregation at *Herrnhut* and the parish of *Bertholdsdorf*, with respect to their mutual rights, and particularly the parochial fees. Here I will mention that, in the spring of the year 1760, the Rev. *Paul Groh*, who succeeded the Rev. Mr. *Shilling* at *Bertholdsdorf* in 1744, departed this life, and the Rev. *Henry John Boettiger*, of *Triebes* in *Vogtland*, was presented to the living.

In the month of February 1758, some synodal conferences were held in the manor-house of *Trebus*, and in May, at *Herrnhut*; at the close of which, several presbyters and deacons were ordained, and *John Nitschmann*, a Moravian, and *Nathanael Seidel*, who had lately held a visitation of the missions in America, were consecrated bishops.

The same year, in the summer, the ordinary assisted at a Silesian provincial synod at *Neusalz*. Soon after, he travelled, by way of *Barby*, to *Holland*, and, after a short abode at *Zeist*, fixed his habitation at the house, *Heerendyk*, near *Yffelsein*. For the furtherance of the building of *Zeist*, a perpetual lease was, in the year 1759, procured by the ordinary from the lord of the manor to the congregation. This congregation continued to increase, and was visited by many from far and near. Among others, the Jews came in great numbers to hear the Rev. *Samuel Lieberkuehn*, who was the minister here. He, out of love to them, had formerly lived at Amsterdam, and still frequently visited them; and they, out of a particular regard for him, used to call him, *Rabbi Schmuël*. There were seen some traces which gave room to believe, that these endeavours left some blessed impressions upon them. About the same time, a baptized Jew of *Herrnhut* made a visit in *Poland* and *Prussia*, to see what ground there

there was in the report of a stir among the Jews, and of their having declared themselves in favour of the Christian religion. But it was found that the hour of their visitation was not yet come.

§ 213.

IN August 1759, the ordinary went from Holland to *New Wied*, to take a view of the progress made in the establishment of this congregation, and to give them his advice. The reigning count, in pursuance of the conference he had with the ordinary, mentioned in § 196, had given a new and more ample grant of privileges to the French colony here, dated the 31st of January, 1756. After this, several persons had resorted hither from other places, and the single Brethren had begun sundry useful trades. This colony undertook to build a square adjoining to the city. In December, 1758, a congregation-house, containing the chapel, was consecrated. The congregation had increased to an hundred persons, and fifty more came the year following; so that the single Brethren were, even then, under a necessity of making an additional building, and also of providing a dwelling for the œconomy of boys. The single Sisters also began to build a choir-house for themselves, and the widows moved into one of the houses already built. The rest of the houses were fitted up for families, and some were built. The prosperity of the trades visibly increased, some of them being carried on by remarkably dextrous artists. The reigning count encouraged the extension of the buildings, and the establishment of profitable trades, and made a regulation between the city-police and magistrates, and the congregation of the Brethren. All this was done during the quartering of French troops in the city; which, indeed, was troublesome on the one hand; but, on the other, beneficial to the Brethren's trades. Moreover, the Brethren here had an useful acquaintance and correspondence with many ministers and friends in
the

the Palatinate and Westphalia, in Switzerland, in France, and other places. These were visited from time to time, or came to partake of the blessing of the Lord in the congregation; so that, what was formerly the intention with Herrnhag, a settlement of a congregation-place of the Brethren, for the good of those of the Reformed Religion, was here gradually effected. Most of the inhabitants came from Reformed countries: on which account the ordinary was desirous of procuring for them, as soon as possible, a Reformed minister, who had been an ordained minister in office. He gave them his best advice, held useful conferences with the labourers, and had interviews with many friends, visiting here from far and near. He saw and spoke with most of the members of the congregation separately; held impressive discourses in the French and German languages, at some of which the count and his family attended, and then returned to Zeist, exceedingly pleased with the colony at New Wied.

§ 214.

AT Zeist he proceeded in the labour he had before begun, spoke with such members of that congregation as had opened to him their state and circumstances in writing, and held blessed discourses to the children and the respective choirs. But he more particularly delivered many incomparable homilies to the congregation, occasioned by a chosen collection of scriptural texts, treating of the merits of the life of Jesus, and of the sufferings he endured in his soul and body; of the imputation and real experience thereof, for the remission and washing away of our sins, and for the sanctification of the human soul and body; of the mind of Christ, and of our being made like unto him; of the joy in the Lord, and, in consequence, of the renouncing all those things which are unbecoming a child of God; of the life by the faith of the son of God; of the faithfulness required

required in all things, great or small; of the continual communion with the Man of sorrows; (Isa. liii. 3.) in child-like and confident converse with him, and in a liturgical walk before his eyes by day and night, amidst all the natural circumstances of human life, which are not sinful in themselves, and sanctified by his own human walk; and finally, of the entrance into the joy of the Lord, and our being at home with him for ever. These discourses were heard and received by the congregations with an uncommonly blessed impression, and some of them, by desire, read again more than once afterwards.

In his own house he had constantly so many assistants in his work, and so many labourers on visits from other congregations, that it commonly had the appearance of a synodal assembly. Thus, many conferences were held for the benefit of the church of the Brethren in general, and the several congregations, colonies, and missions in particular. Having dispatched the first mission to the *East Indies*, (the account of which, for the sake of the connexion, will be reserved for the following Part,) he returned to Saxony, and, having passed through Barby and Klein Welke, arrived at Herrnhut, just before Christmas.

§ 215.

A FEW alterations are here to be mentioned, which happened at *Klein Welke*. The estate was purchased, in the year 1756, by the countess *Reufs*, by birth countess of *Promnitz*, who gave some land to the Vandal Brethren to build on. A brother from Herrnhut, *Niels Randrup*, who fell sick there on his journey to Surinam, and departed this life, was the occasion of a burying-ground's being laid out. The inhabitants increased so, that the meeting-hall in the mansion-house could no longer contain them. They, therefore, built a congregation-house for their labourers to dwell in, and in it, a meeting-hall, which was opened, July the

2d, 1758, by a sermon. About this time, they obtained a minister, who preached to them in the Vandal language. The empty dwellings belonging to the mansion-house were given to some single Brethren, who came to live at Klein Welke. Some single Sisters likewise had a separate habitation assigned them; and both these choirs took the charge of the boys and girls respectively, to instruct them both in learning and work. All this came to pass during the war, the burthen of which fell very heavily upon Klein Welke; they being more incommoded with the marching and quartering of troops, than other congregations, losing thereby both their stock of corn and of provender. However, they were preserved, in the most dangerous circumstances, from devastations by plundering and fire, which befel some of their Brethren in the circumjacent villages, particularly at the battle of *Hochkirch*, when many families, that had been pillaged and burnt out, fled destitute and naked to Klein Welke, and found there shelter and support. Amidst all this, the awakenings among the Vandals continued and increased in many villages of Upper and Lower Lusatia; and they were frequently visited and encouraged by Brethren from Klein Welke.

§ 216.

HERE we shall be obliged to deviate a little from the order of time, and to revert to the alterations which occurred in the congregations out of Germany, and in the colonies and missions abroad, since the year 1755.

The state of the congregations in *England* and *Ireland* may best be learned from an account of a visitation of bishop *Johannes de Watteville*, in the year 1759. The Brethren in England were not much affected by the distresses of the war, only that one of their ministers, being on his return, with his company, from a visit to Herrnhut, was taken by a privateer, and carried to Calais; but, when it was known that he

he was a minister of the church of the Brethren, and that he came from Herrnhut in Saxony, he and his company were soon discharged again. The congregations had not much increased outwardly; though invitations, to preach in other places, had not been wanting, and some new societies were settled. But they had been brought into better outward order, and grown in inward grace. In some places, chapels, choir-houses, and institutions for the education of children had been built, the schools better regulated, and new schools begun in several places in Yorkshire; there being between five and six hundred children under the care of the Brethren there.

I will now mention some particulars of this visitation. First, a provincial synod was convened in Lindsey-house. In the year 1757 the Brethren began to preach in the chapel built near it. The visitation proceeded from hence to the West of England. They saw the congregation at *Tetherton* in Wiltshire, the societies at *Brinkworth* and *Malmsbury*, and three other preaching-places. From hence they went to *Bath*, where a society had been settled some time since, and public preaching begun, which was frequented by many of those who resorted to Bath. Here three clergymen of the established church renewed their acquaintance with the Brethren. The congregation at *Bristol* had much increased, inwardly and outwardly, and that in *Kingswood* prospered. A select number of the society at *Leominster* were formed into a congregation, and the society at *Apperly* and some other preaching-places were supplied from thence. In *South Wales* they visited the eminent methodist-preacher, *Howell Harris*, who, according to his own peculiar insight, had begun a family consisting of married and single people, who had one fund in common; and was intent upon establishing a closer union between the Brethren and the Methodists. At *Haverfordwest*, in South Wales, they found a society gathered by the ministrations of the Brethren, and particularly of the late Rev. *John Cennick*, who had preached the gospel here for

some time. They begged very much for a congregation-regulation; but could not be gratified at this time.

After a difficult journey over the high and steep mountains of Wales, Johannes de Watteville proceeded from Holyhead to *Ireland*. I will here not recite all the congregations and societies, mentioned in § 186; but only observe in general, that, within the last four years, they had been much augmented; and their labourers had been invited to preach in some distant places. The societies at *Drumargon* and *Lisnamara* were formed into congregations of the Brethren; and the rest were better regulated. About this time, the land of *Ballykennedy* was taken upon a perpetual lease, and some families, who were desirous of living together, had begun to build. It lies between *Gloonen* (hitherto the seat of the labourers) and the town *Ballymenagh*, containing about two hundred and sixteen Irish acres.

From Ireland, bishop Johannes returned to *England*. In the congregations, mentioned § 173 and 185, several useful regulations had been made, particularly with respect to their outward order and support, and in some of them more buildings were erected. The congregation at *Bedford* especially was much increased, and in the neighbouring village, *Risely*, a chapel was built, where, as also in some other places, the labourers of Bedford preached.

§ 217.

Pennsylvania was very much desolated by the Indian war, which began in the year 1755. It was not possible soon to put a stop to the conflagrations and murders committed by the Indians. For these barbarians march not in regular parties to meet their enemies; but snun them, sculk behind the trees, fire upon them, and run away: or else, they steal in the night, like wolves, to defenceless habitations, which in that country are scattered up and down in the woods; set them on fire, murder the inhabitants, flay the
skin

skin from the scull, and carry away such scalps, as trophies of victory. Every one that could, fled from the back settlements to more inhabited parts. But the Brethren, who did not live in solitary houses, but in numbers together, remained in their places. Malicious people drew a conclusion from hence, that they must be in a good understanding with the enemies, and propagated a false rumour, that the Brethren and their Indians intended to join them, and fall upon the English in the heart of the country. At this critical juncture, a forged letter was published in the news-paper, pretended to have been written by a French officer, that they would soon make an end of the English, since the Brethren and their Indians were of their party. This enraged the populace against the Brethren, and their settlements were exposed to twofold danger, not only from the Indians, but also from the white people. The Brethren were no longer safe on the road, or in inns; and people often collected together, and threatened an attack. The messengers sent by the Brethren to *Schonioko* and *Wajomik*, to call away the Brethren from thence on account of the prevailing danger from the Indians, were branded as deserters, and not suffered to pass. At length, sorrowful experience too plainly proved the contrary of the supposed good understanding between the Brethren and their Indians, and the enemies of the English. Before the war broke out, the wild Indians had sent a message to the Indians at *Gnadenhuetten*, (§ 187.) to this effect, that, if they would not hear their words and come to them, they would purge their ears with a red-hot iron; that is, they would set their houses on fire about their ears, or drive bullets through their heads; and now they were determined to make good their menaces. Accordingly, they fell first upon the house and plantation of the European Brethren on the *Mahony*, near *Gnadenhuetten*. This painful event happened on the 24th of November, 1755. In the evening, when the Brethren sat at supper, all at once they heard a violent barking of the

dogs. As they were going to see what was the matter, upon opening the door, the Indians fired in among them, and laid one of the Brethren dead on the spot. Another ventured to leap out of the window in the back-part of the house, and escaped the murderers. The rest fled to the garret, and barricaded the door. But the Indians having set fire to the house, a youth, and afterwards the wife of the Brother that had escaped, leaped out of the back-window under the roof, and fled from the hands of the murderers, for which her husband had prayed God, when leaping out of the window. A third afterwards jumped down, was discovered by the savages, and slain. Two others who were out of the house on business, escaped with their lives. There were eleven persons killed in all, some of them shot and scalped, and the rest burnt. Their buildings, cattle, furniture, implements, and stock, were laid in ashes, by which the Brethren sustained a very considerable loss. The Indians who lived on the other side of the river *Lecha*, as soon as they descried the fire, took flight. How it went farther with them, will be related hereafter.

§ 218.

ALL that district was deserted by its inhabitants; but the Brethren resolved to stay in their places, and to put themselves in a state of defence, as well as they could, against the assaults of the savages. They inclosed their settlements with palisades, and kept a good watch by day and night. The Indians often secretly approached their borders, with an intent to surprize them; of which they had soon after indubitable information: yet they were always frightened back by some casual incident; so, that it never came to an encounter and shedding of blood. Thus, *Betlehem* and *Nazareth*, and the farms belonging to them, *Gnadenthal*, *Friedensthal*, and *Christiansbrunn*, were the frontier places on that side of Pennsylvania, and at the same time the refuge of several hundred people. Among others,

the following singular circumstance deserves notice. Some Brethren, who had set out with three wagons to a mill beyond the Blue Mountains to fetch flour, in going, met the people inhabiting those parts howling and lamenting; because the Indians had attacked them, killed many, and set all their places on fire. The Brethren directly turned their wagons back, and, instead of flour, brought a number of wretched people, who had fled naked and bare from the Indians, and were so enfeebled in their distress, that they could scarcely creep forward. These poor people were, in a great measure, provided with necessaries, by the assistance of distant friends. Some of them having narrowly escaped the flames, others being plundered of all they had by the savages, and expecting nothing else but the total ruin of the country, it was a great support and encouragement to them, that the Brethren maintained their ground, and continued in their work; and that, at a time when every one would gladly have sold their lands, and have betaken themselves to other countries, a numerous company of single Brethren arrived from Europe; and a considerable piece of uncultivated land was bought. Thus, many of the fugitives were employed in labour, and earned their livelihood. Most of the trades of the Brethren, indeed, were hindered and hurt by harbouring so many hundred fugitives, who must be lodged in the workshops. But the congregation continued without interruption in their usual order, though under much trouble, and in constant alarms. Many of these strangers heard the word of God, which was not without abiding fruit.

§ 219.

AT the same time, due care was taken of the country-congregations, and the dispersed Brethren and friends in Pennsylvania and the adjoining provinces were visited from

time to time, according to the manner described in § 174; and not one of the Brethren commissioned for it met with any harm, although they often passed by the Indians lying in wait, of which, however, they were ignorant at the time. Some country-congregations, situate on the borders of the province, and consisting mostly of people living on plantations scattered up and down in the woods, were in imminent danger. Here and there some families were attacked, burnt out, murdered, or driven away. These fled to their churches, and there put themselves in a better state of defence against the Indians. Those at *Bethel*, on the river *Swatara*, were forced, in the year 1756, to leave all behind them, and to flee for safety to the next country-congregation at *Lebanon*. In the same manner, the members of the congregation at *Lynn* (formerly called *Ailemængel*) were provided for at *Bethlehem*. This proved an occasion to the Brethren, at a synod held at *Nazareth*, in the year 1757, to advise those Brethren who lived scattered, and often very remote, to draw more together in the neighbourhood of their churches, and to form regular villages. Even the Brethren from *Bethlehem* made a beginning of building a congregation-place near *Warwick*, which they called, *Lititz*. This example was followed by more Brethren, and even by other inhabitants of the country.

Thus, the country-congregations remained in the best order possible in these heavy times, and, instead of diminishing, rather increased; so, that congregations, agreeable to the constitution of the Brethren, were settled at *Oblong*, in *Duchess County*, in 1757; and the following year, at *Newport* in *Rhode Island*, and at *Manakosy* in *Maryland*.

§ 220.

THE work of God among the Indians on the *Susquehanna* was carried on by the Brethren without interruption, and with blessing, until they were prevented by the

war's becoming general. They heard, as early as in the summer of 1755, that the savages in *Canada* were in motion; but continued, till October, visiting in *Wajomik*, and other places on the *Susquehannah*. The Brethren residing at *Schomoko* did not retire till all the places round about them were drenched with blood. The Indian congregation at *Patgatgoch*, on the borders of New England, maintained their post, though they had reason to apprehend their destruction, both from the white people, who were exasperated against all the Indians, and from the Indians themselves, who charged them with being the spies of the white people.

The Indian congregation at *Gnadenbuetten* on the *Ma-hony* continued undisturbed, till the before-mentioned farm was laid in ashes. The same night in which this happened, all the Indian Brethren there fled into the woods. The next morning, however, a great part of them returned, and took their refuge to Bethlehem, under the protection of a detachment of white people. But some who had lost themselves in the woods, meeting with others who just then were out a hunting, retired farther into the Indian country, and so had their return cut off by the troubles of the war. Thus they were necessitated to join the savages, till some of them found an opportunity, from time to time, to go to Bethlehem. The Indians, who were gathered together again at Bethlehem, applied to government in an humble address, assuring the governor that they had no part in the war, but would live with the Brethren in peace and quietness; since they and their children wished to continue to hear the gospel, which they had heard from the Brethren for a blessing to their souls. They also begged for protection. The governor assured them, in writing, under the seal of the province, that they should be protected, exhorting them to persevere in their good intentions. Their deserted houses were laid in ashes soon after their flight. Some time after, fort *Allen* was erected on that spot, for the security of the country.

country. They first dwelt at Bethlehem, and were used as watchmen of the place, and also to guard the Brethren when employed at their labour in the fields. As they found no opportunity of earning any thing, and could by no means venture abroad to hunt, which used to be the best part of their maintenance, the Brethren, at first, were obliged to support them entirely, towards which a contribution of five hundred dollars, from Europe, was a very seasonable assistance. They were, indeed, promised all possible protection from the governor; but, as a reward of one hundred and thirty pieces of eight was promised for the head of every hostile Indian, they were obliged to keep within narrow bounds, that they might not be killed by mistake, or out of greediness for the reward, or even through the wickedness of malicious people. This malice was carried to such a length, that, even after the murder on the *Mahony*, they still calumniated the Brethren, accusing them of evil designs against government. On the other hand, some that deserted to the wild Indians, spread a report among them, that the Brethren had cut off the heads of those Indians who had fled to them, in order to obtain the reward put upon them. This enraged the Indians to such a degree, that they hastened away to Bethlehem in large numbers, with a view to demolish the place. But some of them were softened by the representations of one of their chiefs, called *Paxnoux*, whose wife had been baptized by the Brethren; and others were kept back so long, that they could not execute their design.

As soon as the greatest danger from these savages abated a little, the Indians had a piece of land near Bethlehem assigned them, where, with the Brethren's assistance, they, in the year 1757, erected their huts, calling this settlement, *Nain*. They cultivated the land, and did what they could to earn something of the Brethren by any kind of work. They had also labourers appointed for them, who preached, took care of their souls, and instructed their children. After
peace

peace was made with the Indians, they had many visits from those living on the river *Susquehannah* and in the *Ferseys*. Many of them staid, some of whom were baptized, and others begged for baptism. But as *Nain* very soon was filled with more inhabitants, than could be supplied with corn-land and pasture for cattle; and as some of them did not suit at all for this congregation-place, the Brethren assigned to part of them, in the year 1760, a piece of their land behind the Blue Mountains on the brook *Wechquatank*, about thirty miles from Bethlehem, where they might live by hunting, and dwell together under the inspection of a missionary.

§ 221.

ALREADY in the year 1756, government sent proposals of peace to the Indians, and employed an Indian Brother to conduct the messengers of peace to *Diaogu*. At the same time, a proclamation was published, that all who were inclined for peace, should be provided with a safe escort to *Bethlehem*. Here, the treaty of peace was to be held. But the Brethren, being apprehensive that all manner of disorders might occur at it, by which their young people might receive detriment, by their remonstrances prevailed with government to order the treaty to be held at *Easton*. Mean while the Brethren freely received all the Indians who came to Bethlehem to be present at the treaty; and, having supplied their want of provision, conducted them to *Easton*. Now, the rest of the Indians, that had been scattered at the demolition of *Gnadenbuetten*, had a favourable opportunity of returning to their Brethren. Besides these, some of the *Munsty* nation, who had been among the murderers, staid with the Brethren, and were converted. In the year 1757, the treaty was closed with three hundred Indians, mostly of the *Munsty*s and *Delawares*; who made peace in the name of ten nations. One of the articles was, that government should build them a town on the *Susquehannah*, and should send

send them teachers, and maintain them; also, that the Indians who lived with the Brethren should remove thither. But these had no mind for it; nor could the Brethren advise them to it, because the offers of the Indians were as little to be depended on now, as in the year 1753. (§ 187.) On this occasion, Bethlehem had many visits from these Indians, and often such as proved very troublesome, nay dangerous. The chief of the Delawares, called, *Tadeuskung*, one of those baptized Indians, who, according to § 187, had been persuaded to remove to *Wajsmik*, lived, with an hundred Indians, near Bethlehem a long time. He often, indeed, lamented his sins, that he had proved unfaithful to his conviction, and had suffered himself to be seduced again by the wild Indians to their way of life, and even to engage in the war; but he could not descend from his supposed dignity, and creep, as a poor sinner, to the cross of Jesus. This poor man, soon after, lost his life in a shocking manner.

§ 222.

BUT yet, in this treaty of peace, those Indians were not included, who had retreated to the *Ohio*, and from thence harassed the English provinces. Government looked out for an European who understood their language, to send him to them, and tender them peace. It was a long journey, and a dangerous undertaking; and no one would engage in it. At last, *Frederic Post* found himself inclined to it. He was come, with some Brethren from Germany, to Pennsylvania, in the year 1742. He offered himself to the service of the Heathen, went accordingly to live among them at *Chekomelah*, and twice married Indian wives. After the emigration of the Indian congregation from thence, he prosecuted his labour among the savages, until the year 1749, when he brought some scattered Indians again to the Brethren. He then returned to Germany. In the year 1752, he was one
of

of those five Brethren, who went from London to Labrador, and returned the same year. After some years, he went again to Pennsylvania, and lived with the Indians at *Wajomik*. When the war broke out, he came again to Bethlehem. Here the above-mentioned message to the Indians was proposed to him by government. As he had, for a long time, acted mostly according to his own insight, and often contrary to the advice of the Brethren; so neither could they advise him with respect to such an hazardous undertaking. But they wished him the blessing of God, seeing he undertook it for the benefit of the country. Accordingly, in the year 1758, he, in company of some Indians, made two journeys to the Indians on the *Ohio*, in which he was in great danger of his life. His journal, which was published in English, shows, that he was successful in persuading them to a cessation of hostilities, and bringing their deputies to the treaty at *Easton*. Soon after this, fort *Du Quesne* was forsaken by the French, and taken possession of by the English, who called it, *Pittsburg*. Every one knows that, from his time, the whole scene of the war in North America was changed; concerning which I will not enter into particulars. Henceforward the country, for a while, enjoyed perfect rest from the Indians. The said *Post*, having obtained a pass from government, betook himself again to the *Ohio*, in order to attempt a mission among the Indians there. But when the war broke out afresh, he retreated to *Pittsburg*. Afterwards, believing he should not effect much among the wild Indians in North America, he went to the Bay of *Honduras*, in the gulf of *Mexico*, to preach to the *Musquito* Indians, who are said to be of a more mild and quiet turn.

§ 223.

BEFORE I leave Pennsylvania, I must still mention something of the ship, called, *The Irene*. Two ships had been bought at different times in England, and fitted for the purpose

purpose of the Brethren, to ease the freight of the colonists going to America, and of the Brethren returning. In the year 1748, a new ship was built at New York, which was called, *Irene*, (§ 169.) and navigated by captain *Nicholas Garrison* of New York. In 1749, she carried a large colony from London, and conveyed some Greenlanders back to their own country. Since then, she performed four voyages almost every year between London and New York, being a good sailer, and soon freighted. From the year 1755, captain *Christian Jacobsen* had the command of her. In November 1757, on a voyage from New York to London, she was taken by a French privateer, and sent for Cape Breton; but, on the 12th of January 1758, she was cast away. The crew took to their boat, but were overset by the waves. However, they all escaped to shore, though with the utmost hazard of their lives. Being thrown upon a desert coast, they were obliged to work their way, with great toil and peril, through snow and ice, for seventy miles, till they came to Louisburg. The prisoners, among whom were some Brethren, were carried to Brest. Having endured much hardship and distress, both at sea and on land, among a number of other prisoners, they at last were exchanged. Only old Brother *Schout*, an experienced mariner, having been mate on many voyages, was detained at Louisburg on account of sickness, and enjoyed much love and friendship from some of the inhabitants. But when the English fleet besieged this fortress, he was remanded to prison, and, for greater security, carried from place to place, being exposed to extreme danger by the perpetual cannonading. After the place was taken by the English, he, being set at liberty, returned to Bethlehem. Captain Jacobsen and some other persons bought a ship at London, till he got a new one built at New York, which was called, *The Hope*, in which the Brethren afterwards sailed to and fro, paying a reasonable freight.

§ 224.

IN *Wachovia*, in *North Carolina*, the Brethren enjoyed a tolerable degree of peace in the beginning of the Indian war, because the neighbouring *Cherokees* remained, at that time, friends to the English. But, in the adjoining province, *Virginia*, which was the chief seat of the war, there were, perhaps, more murders committed, than in *Pennsylvania*. On this account, many people fled to *North Carolina*, in the year 1756, and some hundreds, out of the country round about, sought and found refuge and safety with the Brethren. These enclosed *Bethabara* and the mill, near which the fugitives built some houses, with palisades, and kept good watch. At this time there was a great scarcity of corn both in *Carolina* and *Virginia*: for the crop of Indian corn, which is the main support of the inhabitants, had failed. But the Brethren had reaped a large quantity of wheat and rye, and thus were enabled to supply the wants, not only of these fugitives, but also of many other people, which they did gladly. Though, in the year 1758, the *Cherokees* and *Catawbas*, who should have guarded the country against the hostile *Schawanos* and *Delawares*, often marched through the place in large companies, at which times the Brethren were obliged to find them quarters and provisions for several days; yet God had so blessed the Brethren, that they could supply the wants of them all. But they soon found means for these fugitives to cultivate the land, or to earn something; and God blessed their labour so, that none suffered want.

The fugitives constantly attended the preaching of the gospel, and a blessing attended it, so, that some of them were laid hold on by grace. These had no mind to return to their former places of abode, and asked leave of the Brethren to stay with them. When Brother *Spangenberg* went thither upon a visitation, in the spring of 1759, and staid there

there till in the month of May, 1760, a tract of land was assigned them for building and cultivating, on certain conditions. There were also some families of the Brethren, who showed an inclination to begin husbandry and housekeeping for themselves. (For hitherto every thing at Bethabara had been done and laid out for the common good, as was the case at Bethlehem.) These also were provided with dwellings; and assisted with what was needful. This new place was called, *Bethany*. The occasion to this new settlement was, that the Cherokees also, having turned enemies, committed all manner of cruelties upon the inhabitants of Carolina. Consequently, no man was safe of them, who lived alone with his family in the woods. The Brethren at Bethabara and Bethany, notwithstanding their living together, were not without danger; and the spies often came very near their dwellings, but were always frightened away, without any bloodshed.

Moreover, government was very well disposed towards the Brethren, and the office of a justice of the peace in the county, wherein *Wachovia* lies, was committed to one of them.

§ 225.

IN the Danish islands in the *West Indies* an alteration was made in the year 1755. These islands were transferred from the West India and Guinea company to the king, and a governor general was appointed, who fixed his residence in *St. Croix*. The mission of the Brethren had in him a real friend and protector, which was apparent on many occasions, especially at a very turbulent juncture in December, 1759, when a dangerous conspiracy was discovered among the Negroes in *St. Croix*, who had bound themselves to murder all the Europeans in Christmas-night. Malicious people gave out, that some Negroes, baptized by the Brethren, had a share in this conspiracy. But their innocence was cleared

cleared up even by the guilty themselves. The governor behaved in this affair like a father. As long as the commotion lasted, the Brethren, by his advice, omitted the large assemblies of the Negroes, till he gave them notice that they might begin them again; and, in order to authorise them, and to encourage the Negroes in their attendance, he himself, and some other gentlemen, were present. He showed the same just and benevolent disposition on another occasion, when an order was issued, that no Negro should be seen in the streets or roads after seven o'clock in the evening. Some people wanted to interpret this as extending to the baptized Negroes, and by this means to hinder them from coming to the meetings, for which they had no time in the day; he made the regulation, that such Negroes as had frequented the meetings of the Brethren, and could produce a certificate, signed by their teacher, should pass unmolested by the watch.

A new church, begun two years ago in *St. Croix*, was finished in the year 1755; and another new church, built in *St. Jan*, was consecrated.

§ 226.

THE Brethren in *St. Thomas* had long formed a design of preaching the gospel to the Negroes on the neighbouring *English* islands. But they themselves were in want of assistants in carrying on their labour in the *Danish* islands, on account of the frequent sicknesses, by which one or another of the missionaries departed this life almost every year. On this account, many years elapsed, before they could spare missionaries for *St. Croix* and *St. Jan*, where, even then, they were left without any, having only a few helpers chosen from among the Negroes. At length, in the year 1756, a mission was begun in *Antigua*. *Samuel Isles*, an English Brother, who had served eight years in the mission in *St. Thomas* with blessing, went thither, and began to

preach the gospel to the Negroes, having presented himself, and made known his design, to the governor, and laid before him the act of parliament in favour of the Brethren passed in the year 1749. He met with some well-wishers, who gave him leave to preach on their plantations. On the 12th of January, 1757, he had the joy to baptize the first Negro-woman, and, soon after, five more. In the year 1758, he obtained an assistant from London; but this soon entered into his eternal rest. He then got another assistant, *John Bennet*. Afterwards he dwelt for some time on a plantation out of the town, in order to be nearer the Negroes working in the fields. In the mean time, various proposals were made to him for building a church. In the year 1761, a piece of land was bought in the town of *St. Johns*, and a beginning made of building a church and a dwelling-house.

§ 227.

IN *Jamaica*, *Zacharias George Caries* proceeded in the work of the mission without any obstruction. (§ 191.) In the year 1756, he baptized forty-three Negroes, who, with those baptized before, and afterwards in 1757, amounted to seventy-seven. There were, moreover, four hundred catechumens. Besides the two plantations, *Carmel* and *Emmaus*, which were begun for the benefit of the mission, he preached on three other plantations, the *Bogue*, the *Island*, and *Mesopotamia*. This mission, therefore, required more labourers, and accordingly received them from Europe and North America in the years 1757 and 1759. But these, thinking differently from those who had been here before, with respect to the treatment of the Negroes, and believing that they had been too hasty in the baptism of many of them, acted more strictly with them, and obliged the catechumens to wait long for baptism. By this means, the former lost their confidence in them, and most of them drew back; and the latter were disheartened from coming to the preaching. The
harmony

harmony of the labourers was interrupted on that account, and they almost desisted from their labour in the gospel. Indeed, in the year 1759, *Nathanael Seidel* came hither on a visitation, and made some alterations among the labourers. *Caries* went back with him to Europe, and the direction of the mission was wholly committed to *Christian Henry Rauch*, who came hither from Bethlehem towards the beginning of the year 1757. But things went no better afterwards; so that rather less was done than before; and some years passed before this mission recovered the detriment it had sustained.

§ 228.

THE mission in *Berbice*, after many heavy and grievous circumstances for several years, (during which it went, however, rather forward than backward,) was at last favoured with outward rest, sooner than was expected. The labour of the Brethren among the Heathen being at length acknowledged to be beneficial, no longer attempts were made to hinder, but to promote it. But inwardly, this flourishing mission likewise began to stop in its growth. The baptized, who now amounted to about four hundred, had been obliged to divide, for reasons mentioned in § 192. Most of them lived in three little hamlets in the neighbourhood of the Brethren; but some were removed to a great distance, and suffered damage in their souls. Besides this, the missionary, *Theophilus Solomon Schumann*, went to *Surinam*, in the year 1757, to assist the Brethren there in regulating their colony and mission; of which more hereafter. His wife died in this interval, and he sailed for Europe in the autumn of 1758, to place his children in the economies of the Brethren, and did not return to *Berbice* till the spring of 1760; having, on his way, been again detained in *Surinam* for some time. During his absence, this mission was not duly supplied; for there were only three Brethren remaining, who could hold meetings with the Indians. These

not being ordained, the new-born children of the converted Indians were not baptized, nor was the holy communion administered. This discouraged the Indians. At the same time, an infectious distemper broke out among them, which was rendered more calamitous by a scarcity of the necessaries of life. This complication of misfortunes induced many to look out for more fruitful places. As soon as an account of these circumstances came to Europe, measures were taken to send them an ordained missionary from Bethlehem. Accordingly, he set sail; but the ship having sprung a leak, he was obliged to return, and afterwards could meet with no ship going thither. Hence it was found necessary to send a written ordination to two of the Brethren who had staid there, empowering them to administer baptism and the Lord's supper, which they afterwards did with blessing to the few remaining Indians. In this condition, *Schumann* found the mission, when he came again to *Pilgerhut* in the year 1760. Most of the Indians were sick, and many were departed this life. Almost half the Europeans in that colony died of the infectious disorder; and among them was the new governor, who had protected and supported the Brethren in their labour: and it was not long, before this servant of Jesus, *Schumann*, whose labour had been so blessed among the *Arawaks*, entered into his rest on the 6th of October, 1760.

§ 229.

THE former circumstances of the mission in *Berbice*, and the separation of the Indians in consequence thereof, caused the Brethren to think of a suitable place for gathering and fixing them in *Surinam*, where, according to § 62, the Brethren had obtained a grant in the year 1740, with certain immunities, which they had not in *Berbice*. *Lewis Christopher Debné*, one of the first Brethren that went to *Berbice*, in the year 1738, went from Bethlehem to *Paramaribo* with *Mark Ralfs*, in the year 1754. They worked in stillness at
their

their trades, waiting for an opening to serve our Saviour among the Indians in these parts. The former governor of Berbice, Mr. *Loefner*, who now lived at Paramaribo, introduced them to the acquaintance of the governor of Surinam, and conducted matters so, that he himself desired the Brethren to form an establishment in Surinam, offering them as much land as they stood in need of for a colony and mission. In consequence of this proposal, the missionary *Schumann*, in company of *Nathanael Seidel*, who was, at that time, on a visitation in South America, set out, in the year 1755, from Berbice for Surinam, to look out for a proper tract of land, and to treat farther with the governor about the settlement. *Abraham Bemper* went with them. He had formerly dwelt in Surinam; and, when the Brethren removed from thence to Berbice, went to Bethlehem. Such a voyage from Berbice to Surinam is often attended with more difficulties and dangers, than a voyage from Holland to South America. The distance, indeed, is only an hundred and sixty leagues; but it generally takes up a month's time or more; because they are obliged to go out of one river into another, then to put to sea, and again back to the rivers, and often have to struggle against wind and current. First, they pitched upon some suitable land on the rivers *Corentyn* and *Sarameca*, and then proceeded to *Paramaribo*. Here they delivered in a memorial, referring to the grant made to the Brethren in the year 1740. They received for answer, That government would write in their behalf to the directors in Holland; but that the Brethren there should also apply to them. In the year 1756, a confirmation of the immunities, granted by government, arrived from Holland. Captain *Nicholas Garrison* went thither with eight Brethren, in autumn of the same year, to take possession of the land granted on the *Sarameca* and the *Corentyn*, and to treat farther with government concerning the colony and mission of the Brethren. Pursuant to an agreement with the missionary, *Schumann*, some Brethren were to settle at Paramaribo,

working at their trades, and supplying the necessities of these colonies, as their agents. On the river *Sarameca* the Brethren were to settle a colony, which should receive the Indians that neither could nor would remain in Berbice, and carry on the mission among the Heathen round about. On the river *Corentyn*, only a very few Brethren were to reside, chiefly to search out the Indians who had retreated from Berbice to those parts, and to serve them in the gospel.

§ 230.

IN the spring of 1757, five Brethren made the beginning of some buildings on the *Sarameca*, and called the place, *Sharon*. In August, they were visited by the missionary *Schumann*, from Berbice. He brought thirty Indians with him, who had a mind to live here. In the year 1758, they were recruited by six single Brethren, and Brother *Schirmer*, and his wife. They built a dwelling-house and a meeting-hall, besides some out-houses; laid out a plantation, and began to raise cattle. In the year 1759, the Indian congregation there amounted to sixty-two souls. At this time, they were often visited by the Caribbees, who, having heard of the Brethren by the report of the baptized Arawaks, expressed a desire to live with them, and to hear the word of God.

The above-mentioned Brother *Dehne*, who was now pretty far advanced in years, and almost always sickly, lived quite alone among the Indians on the *Corentyn* till 1758, and had much toil and trouble to procure his maintenance. He visited the baptized Arawaks that formerly lived in Berbice, but now on the river *Mepenna*, and was often visited by them, as also by the wild *Waraues* and *Calepina*. The latter suspected him, and often came with an intent to murder him; but

but were at length so won by his friendly and-cordial conduct, that, instead of killing him, they supplied him with the necessaries of life.

I must observe, in general, that the Brethren's manner of living in the American wildernesses exposes them to constant danger of their lives, from the suspicious Indians, wild beasts, serpents, or other venomous creatures. I could relate a great many remarkable instances of these and other perils and distresses, which our missionaries in North and South America have encountered, if the limits of this History would allow it. I will, however, mention an instance of what befel this Brother. For a considerable time, he heard every night a tyger roaring in the neighbourhood of his hut. He often found in the morning, that Indians had been at his fire in the night. His hut was formed by four posts under a large tree, with an Indian roof made of leaves. Being once attacked by a paroxysm of a fever, he was going to lie down in his hammock. Just at that instant a great serpent fell from the roof of his hut upon him, and, twining itself twice round his head and neck, drew itself together as tightly as possible. He could expect no other, according to human appearance, but to be either stung or strangled. His first thought, therefore, was, to leave some indication of the manner of his death, written with chalk on the table, for the information of the Brethren, that they might not charge the Indians with his death. But his faith was strengthened at that instant, to spread before his Lord and Saviour the promise he made to his apostles, Mark xvi. 18. *They shall take up serpents,—and it shall not hurt them*; and, in reliance upon it, he forced the serpent with violence over his head, and flung it at a distance, without being hurt in the least.

This missionary, having been alone among the Indians on the Corentyn a year and an half, was, in 1759, relieved by

three Brethren. These built, in the year 1760, a meeting-place and dwelling-house, which they called, *Ephraim*. They were often visited by their Indian acquaintance, and by strangers; and some of the baptized came to live with them.

The missionary *Schumann*, on his return from Europe to Berbice, took Surinam in his way, to view the beginning of this mission, and to contribute his best advice towards its progress. He found it in an agreeable and hopeful state, and made preparation that soon more of the Indians baptized in Berbice, who were afterwards dispersed, might remove hither. At the same time, the governor notified to him, that peace was made with the *Free Negroes*, that is, such as formerly were run away from the Europeans, and now formed a republic of their own, composed of a few villages in the wilderness, which often infested and greatly damaged the colony. These Negroes now desired missionaries to be sent to them, to instruct their children in the Christian religion. The governor wished to commit this work to the Brethren, and desired that some might be procured, who, as soon as the confirmation of the peace should arrive from Holland, might undertake this laudable work.

§ 231.

THE congregation at *New Herrnbut*, in *Greenland*, had, for some years, been annually increased by forty, fifty, or more persons, through holy baptism. At the end of the year 1757, it amounted to four hundred baptized, exclusive of those two hundred who were already in eternity. This growth seemed now to abate, as the wild Greenlanders were unwilling to leave the providing-places they had been accustomed to from their childhood. But, on the other hand, the Brethren were invited by some Heathen, who had been stirred up by the gospel, to come into their parts. This was done, in particular, by the inhabitants of the
Fishers

Fishers Bay. The factors seconded their petition, well knowing what great profit the mission at *New Herrnhut* had produced to the trade in *Ball's River*. The missionary, *John Bek*, being on a visit in Germany in the year 1758, proposed this to the Brethren. The eldest missionary, *Matthew Stach*, who had resided for some years at *Herrnhut*, resolved to go again to *Greenland*, in order to begin this second mission. He took with him from thence the two Brothers, *Peter* and *Jens Haven*, and arrived at *New Herrnhut* in the summer of 1758. Here, four families of *Greenlanders* joined him; so that there went, in all, thirty-two persons to begin a mission in the *Fishers Bay*, called, *Lichtenfels*. He built a *Greenlandish* house, and began by regulating the meetings and congregation-orders, according to the model of the congregation at *New Herrnhut*. The Heathen of those parts came frequently to visit them, to hear the gospel, and some, even to live with them. But they met with many outward difficulties incident to all beginnings of this nature, and saw many vicissitudes in the awakened Heathen, till in the beginning of the year 1760, when *Matthew Stach* baptized the first family of four persons of that district. From that time, this new congregation multiplied visibly. The inward and outward state of both the *Greenland* congregations, and the evidences of grace discovered upon manifold occasions, may be farther seen in the *History of Greenland*.

§ 232.

It has been mentioned in § 194, that the physician, *Frederic William Hokker*, made an attempt to go, by *Egypt*, to *Abyssinia*; but the commotions in *Egypt* stopping his progress, he returned to *Herrnhut*. In the year 1756, he made a second attempt to obtain his aim, taking with him *George Pilder*, a student of divinity, of the seminary of the Brethren. At their arrival at *Cairo*, they received intelligence that the emperor of *Abyssinia* was dead, and a prince
of

of seven years old had ascended the throne, under the guardianship of his grandmother. They also heard that all Romans and Greeks had been compelled to leave the country. They met with a kind reception from the patriarch of the *Copts*, and delivered to him a letter from the ordinary. They also committed to his charge a letter to the *Abuna*, or archbishop, of Abyssinia, *John CXXXVII*; because it was too late to travel thither this year. Neither could they prosecute their design in the year 1757. In the mean time, they often repeated their visits to the patriarch, and had some profitable conversations with him and his clergy. In the summer of 1758, these visits were continued still more frequently, when *Henry Cossart*, formerly agent of the Brethren in England, spent a few weeks with them. Cossart and Pilder (for Hokker was sick) also visited the *Greek*, as well as the *Coptic*, patriarch; and, at several friendly interviews, gave the Greek patriarch and the archbishop of *Lybia*, an account of the church of the Brethren, and particularly of the deputation to the patriarch of *Constantinople*, in the year 1740. Cossart also continued a correspondence with the Greek patriarch, for some time, after his return to Germany. Once, when they attended divine service in the Coptic church, the patriarch, seeing them among the people, sent for them to participate in the breaking of bread, which is a ceremony among the Copts, different from the holy communion. Afterwards the patriarch took them into his house, to be present at the *Agapæ* of the clergy, among whom were also two Abyssinians; at which much was spoken concerning the church of the Brethren, their liturgy and constitution. All the clergymen expressed their satisfaction at what they heard, and assured the Brethren of their love. But, after this, the patriarch, having heard various things against the Brethren, began to examine them concerning several points of doctrine. Before he would give them a commendatory letter to the *Abuna* in Abyssinia, he desired a written account of their doctrine, origin, liturgy, and constitution.

stitution. With respect to the former, they answered his questions, and gave him some discourses of the ordinary, translated into Arabic, which pleased him and his clergy exceedingly. He declared before them all, that he looked upon the Brethren to be an ancient apostolical church, which had adhered to the simple doctrine of the Apostles, without mingling in the controversies which afterwards arose. With regard to the latter article, it was necessary he should wait, till the Brethren could procure him an account written by the ordinary himself.

§ 233.

IN the mean time, about autumn 1758, they entered on their journey to *Abyssinia*. They went by land to *Suez*, and then took shipping on the *Red Sea*, setting sail on the 9th of October, in a Turkish bark. They had a tedious and troublesome passage, and at last were stranded, the 20th of October, off the island *Hassane*. The ship's crew made their escape in a boat; but the Brethren were obliged to stay on the wreck, which was almost entirely under water, and in this condition to wait a long time, before they were brought off. Twenty days they continued on this desert island, in constant danger of their lives from the rapacious Arabians, and even from their fellow-travellers, who believed they had great treasures with them. They had saved very little of their provision, and fresh water was not to be had; so, that hunger and thirst, heat by day, and cold by night, all concurred to make their abode on this island very disagreeable. No one would convey them farther, because they could not give what was demanded. However, at last they reached *Limbo*, and the 29th of November, *Gedda*, the frontier port to *Abyssinia*. Happy was it for them that, before this misfortune, they had lent a Greek merchant some money, which they now received again, though not without a good deal of trouble. Here they contracted an acquaintance

ance with two Turkish merchants, whom the regent of Abyssinia had charged to bring a physician with them for the prime minister who was sick. They solicited the Brethren very urgently to go with them; but these could not resolve to go, because, when the ship was wrecked, their chest of medicines, and other necessaries were lost, and they would not venture to prepare medicines in a strange country, from, probably, unknown herbs. They, therefore, came to a determination to return to *Cairo*, to furnish themselves with fresh medicines, and to set out again the year following for Abyssinia. Mean while, they, by the merchants, sent a letter to the Abuna, with a copy of the ordinary's letter to him. The 20th of April, 1759, they set out on their return, by way of *Limbo*, where they still found some of the things they had lost with the ship; but were at a great expence to redeem them. Having been again in danger, on the 12th of May, of being shipwrecked off the island *Hassane*, they arrived the 12th of June at *Cassir* in *Upper Egypt*. They found the great caravan was gone before they arrived; which was a providential circumstance in their favour, for it fell into the hands of the robbers, and was plundered. Therefore, they travelled from hence with a less caravan, a different road from that which is usual, to *Genna* on the *Nile*. At *Pharsut* they were very kindly entertained by some Latin fathers in their convent, and the 6th of July continued their way on the Nile, in company with several barks, which were often obliged to force their way through the robbers. Arriving at *Cairo* the 23d of July, they were informed that, a little while before, the plague had swept away great numbers of people. They had both contracted a sickness. *Pildér*, who could not recover his health, soon returned to Europe. But *Hekker* waited till he received the ordinary's letter to the Coptic patriarch; and, having delivered it, he also returned to Germany.

§ 234.

AT length, an end was put to the many years sufferings of some Brethren, who had borne a severe imprisonment at *Petersburg*, soon after the release of the Brethren mentioned in § 171. I have purposely reserved the detail of the occasion, process and issue of this whole affair, to this period. The superintendent, *Eberhard Gutsleff*, and the Rev. *Francis Helterhof*, had, in the year 1746, begun an institution of a school on the isle of *Oesel*, in the Báltic, the inspection of which they committed to the student *Fritsch*, who was come from the seminary of the Brethren to *Oesel*, and had been there several years as tutor to some noblemen's children. The physician, *David Kruegelslein*, who, some years before, was gone from *Marienborn* to *Livonia*, made some objections to the regulations of this institution, and entered into a correspondence with *Fritsch* about it. An answer from the latter, written with some warmth, was intercepted by a gentleman, who was their enemy, and some expressions were misinterpreted, so as to import high treason. It is known what the consequence there is of an accusation of this nature. Accordingly, in the year 1747, first the two clergymen, and afterwards the two other Brethren, were conveyed to *Petersburg*, and cast into the lowest dungeons of the prison in the fortress. They were confined separately, and so closely, that, for a long time, they knew nothing of each other's imprisonment. In the first years they endured great want of the very necessities of life, and their health was much impaired. *Kruegelslein* was confined a year and an half, before any of his friends could find out where he was; during which time he suffered not a little from the ill treatment he met with from some of his fellow-prisoners, until a certain secretary, who had been confined in the same place, after he had obtained his discharge, procured for him a more tolerable apartment in the prison. Being in want of a bible, he spared, by little and little, a sufficient sum out of the two *Kopecks*,
(about

(about one penny) which were his daily allowance, and of the alms he received, to buy one. Having got the money together, he gave it to a soldier to buy the book, who, to his greatest pain, defrauded him both of the book and money. After three years, he received the first intelligence that Fritsch was also in prison. Just before, Mr. Koehler, surgeon of the life-guards, after much enquiry, learning from some officers the place of his confinement, procured a sight of him at a distance. The aspect of this respectable man, emaciated with hunger and sickness, with a long beard, in a ragged coat, without a shirt, and full of vermin, pressed tears from the eyes of this benevolent friend. He sought and found an opportunity to furnish him with food and raiment, and to procure, for him and Helterhof, separate apartments in the prison. But as yet, he could get no intelligence of the two Brethren, their fellow-prisoners.

Fritsch was conveyed from one prison to another ; and, in four years of his confinement, counted one hundred and forty fellow-prisoners, Christians, Turks, and Heathens, out of almost all the provinces of the Russian empire. He invented a method of twisting his own and his fellow-prisoners cast hair, and knit caps and stockings of it ; and, saving something of the alms he received, bought wool, of which he also knit stockings, and taught the other prisoners to do the same, whereby their calamity was rendered more tolerable. They all loved and respected him, and made him the overseer among them. After he had learned the Russian language of them, he served them, as far as possible, by word and deed. He was their cook, caterer, and preacher ; and when a clergyman gave the prisoners the Lord's supper, he was his clerk, and repeated his exhortations.

The superintendent *Gutseff* was released from all his misery by an happy death, on the 2d of February, 1749, before his friends could discover the place of his confinement, and render him any assistance. The woeful aspect of his corpse contributed to soften the captivity of the other Brethren.

Their

Their case was repeatedly heard and examined ; but no proof of the offence, of which they were accused, was brought against them : and yet, their cause was never brought to a decision. The secretary who had their suit in hand, often expressed his most cordial compassion with them, and declared to the guard : “ Neither these people, nor their parents, “ have brought this long imprisonment upon them by their “ sins ; but that the works of God may be made manifest “ in them.”

The Rev. *Francis Helterhof* had the greatest lenity shown him. He soon found an opportunity of procuring some relief by means of a Lutheran clergyman ; and, as soon as he was informed by a prisoner that *Kruegelstein* was also there, which, however, was not till after two years, he sent him some refreshment. His wife also obtained leave to visit and serve him, till she departed this life in the year 1755.

§ 235.

FROM 1747 to 1751, each of them had been confined separately, and in the beginning in most offensive dungeons. By the good offices and intercession of the above-mentioned surgeon, they now obtained leave to live together in the ravelin of the fortress, in a roomy vault, which, from the resemblance it bore to the burial-places of the Ancients, they called, their *Catacomb*. Here they dwelt nine months, performed divine worship by themselves, and were visited by many people, even by some persons of distinction, who received a blessing from their conversation. Here also *Kruegelstein* had an opportunity of curing many sick people. They were, moreover, permitted to go upon the ramparts, for the benefit of fresh air. At last, they obtained leave to move into an house without the fortress, which *Kruegelstein's* wife rented, having come to Petersburg to assist and nurse her husband. They lived together seven months in
this

this house. But, in the year 1752, on account of the escape of another prisoner, they, and all others in like circumstances, were brought again into the ravelin. In November this year, they were three times in great distress and danger of their lives, by inundations. This moved the secretary to procure them an house again; in which they lived twenty months. Here they became acquainted with a prince under arrest, whose consort was in Kruegelstein's cure, and who, after he had obtained his liberty, faithfully served them in many respects. Fritsch now began to instruct some children, to render the contributions of their friends towards their maintenance less necessary. At the same time, he served Kruegelstein as interpreter among the sick Russians. In the year 1754, all on a sudden, they were once more hurried in the night into the ravelin, the cause of which they could not discover. However, in a little time, they obtained so much liberty, as to go, under the conduct of the guard, to their families, whenever they desired to have the Lord's supper administered to them by a Lutheran minister. Kruegelstein also obtained leave to go with Fritsch to visit his patients. These were so numerous, and he was so successful in his cures, that some people esteemed him as a saint and a worker of miracles. At length, having lain four years and eight months more in the ravelin, and been under arrest twelve years in all, they were, in the month of March 1759, released from prison, with an order to go to the city of *Casan*. This journey of twelve hundred miles, in a wagon, escorted by a guard, was to them excessively distressing and fatiguing, having been so long confined; and Kruegelstein, who was before consumptive, fell into a dangerous illness. They went the latter part of the journey by water, and arrived in April at *Casan*. Here Kruegelstein came into such amazing practice, that oftentimes the yard of the house was full of patients. Fritsch and Helterhof were prevailed on by the director of an academy to assist in teaching. On the 23d of November, 1760, Fritsch, after a short sickness, departed

this life. Kruegelstein followed him the 9th of December the same year. Helterhof continued keeping school, till he, in the year 1762, obtained his full liberty by the mediation of a valet de chambre to the grand duke, who had been in prison with the Brethren.

I cannot omit a remark which *Kruegelstein* made to his wife, during his sickness on the journey : That, as early as the year 1738, he had a call to go, through *Russia*, to *Persia* ; but had suffered himself to be diverted from it. He, therefore, admired the ways of the Lord, that he should at last yet come to *Asia*, to end his race there.

§ 236.

I COME now to the last labours, sickness, and departure of the ordinary into the joy of his Lord, with which I shall conclude this Part. Since Christmas 1759, he had resided at *Herrnhut*, and had continued unweariedly in the spiritual labour, which, since his return from England, he had been engaged in here and in other congregations, especially during his last abode at *Zeist*. (§ 200, 214.) He held frequent conferences with the labourers of the congregation and the choirs. On Wednesdays and Saturdays he had, for several years, been used to have love-feasts with his household, to which the labourers and other members of the congregation were invited from time to time. He entertained this company with the latest accounts of the kingdom of Christ, and presented those, who had had their birth-days in the foregoing week, with an ode, which was either read or sung before the whole assembly. On Good Friday 1760, he partook of the holy communion for the last time with the congregation, and on Easter-Monday, the 7th of April, he delivered to a large company of visitors from that district, a blessed discourse, which has been printed as an appendix to the second

German edition of the well-known *Bertholdsdorf-Discourses*. (§ 203.) He also held a very solid conference with some neighbouring Lutheran ministers. He then set about making the *Collection of Daily Words and Texts for the Year 1761*; and went, to this purpose, through the Bible again. In these and other such labours he employed himself till the 4th of May, when he was seized with a violent catarrh-fever, attacks of which he had had several times almost every year. However, he proceeded in his labour on the 5th of May, being Monday, which day he had set apart, for some years past, for the revision of his discourses. When some Brethren reminded him that he wanted rest, he answered: "When the work is done, rest is sweet." He still made an extensive ode for the choir-festival of the single Sisters, and delivered an homily to this choir. This was his last meeting: for, immediately after, he was obliged to take to his bed entirely. From this time he could neither eat nor sleep for coughing, though he said he felt no heat or pain. He conversed, in a very agreeable manner, by day and night, with those who watched with or visited him, about one or another subject, especially the accomplishment of the testament of Jesus, John xvii: *That they all may be one*. He expressed great joy on account of several congregations, and some particular persons; and his heart flowed in very tender love towards all that visited him. Between whiles, he still revised some written and printed pieces till the 8th of May. When his amanuensis thanked him for the revision of the Daily Words, which was his last labour, he said: "Now rest is sweet." From that time, his mind was mostly occupied with the assembly before the throne of the Lamb. He reckoned up his acquaintance in and out of the Brethren's congregations, whom he should meet with our Saviour, and related several of the wonders of grace, which the Lord had wrought for the church of the Brethren, and particularly among the Heathen, within these thirty odd years.

years *. He said among other things, "I only endeavour-
 " ed to obtain first-fruits from the Heathen-nations: but
 " now they are multiplying to thousands." In the last
 night he conversed much with his Lord. Very early on
 the 9th of May, he sent for his son in law, *Johannes de Wat-*
teville, and acquainted him with great chearfulness that he
 should soon be called home, uttering these words: "My
 " dear son, I shall now go home. I am in a perfectly good
 " understanding with my Lord. He is pleased with me. I
 " am ready to go to him. There is nothing more in my
 " way." He then spoke a few words with him concerning
 some points treated of in the last conferences, the execu-
 tion of which lay with particular weight upon his mind.
 And indeed, in the conferences of the last fortnight a great
 many things had been resolved upon; and when he was
 reminded that it would be too much at once, he answered:
 "Now is the time for conferring; there will also come a
 " time, when all will be executed." After this, he desired his
 three daughters to be called; but could not any more speak
 with them; for an apoplexy had deprived him of his speech:
 He gave them his last fatherly blessing with a very friendly
 look. In the mean time, many Brethren and Sisters gathered
 round his bed and in the adjoining room, awaiting with tears
 what the Master had resolved to do with this his disciple.
 He looked several times round upon them with a friendly
 mien, and towards ten o'clock in the morning reclined his
 head, and closed his eyes. *Johannes de Watteville* accom-
 panied his last breath with the words: *Lord, now lettest thou*
thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word: for his eyes
have seen thy salvation; and concluded with the benediction:

* He once divided the whole church-history in periods of
 thirty-three years, according to the age of Christ. And exactly
 so long his labour continued in the church of the Brethren. For
 it was properly on the 12th of May 1727, that he devoted him-
 self for the service of it, relinquishing all his worldly em-
 ployments.

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The Lord bless thee, and keep thee, &c. Thus this servant of the Lord fell asleep, and drew his last breath at the concluding word, *Peace!*

The congregation was acquainted with his departure, in the manner customary in the congregations of the Brethren. Having assembled in the meeting-hall, this event was made known to them in a short discourse. They kneeled down, and, during innumerable tears, thanked our Saviour for all the grace bestowed upon them, through the service of this man of God, now happily departed; praying the Lord, as the Head of his people, to lead them farther in his grace, and to preserve them in love and unity. A written notification was directly sent to all the other congregations, in which, among other things, it is said: “Ye know what
“ a gift of grace our church has had in this disciple of the
“ Lord. This witness of his death and bleeding merits,
“ this restorer of the church of the Brethren, this apostle to
“ so many nations of the earth, this founder of the villages
“ of the Lord, this faithful heart towards every poor distressed
“ soul, this friend of mankind, whose princely repast
“ it was to do good, hath our dear Lord called from his
“ labour into his rest, this forenoon in the tenth hour.
“ The daily word for our children is: *He shall doubtless*
“ *come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him.*”
“ Psalm cxxvi. 6.

“ Who this desires, let him say, Amen.”

237.

THE burial of his remains was appointed to be on the 16th of May, on which day not only many Brethren and friends assembled from the nearest congregations, but also many of the nobility, gentry, civil and military officers, and some Imperial staff-officers, came from the country round about, and the Six Cities of Upper Lusatia; so that the number of strangers alone amounted to above two thousand.

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To prevent all disorder among them, the Imperial general *Beck* had been applied to, and sent a detachment of grenadiers to Herrnhut, who were posted in three different places. At five o'clock in the afternoon, first the Brethren, and then the Sisters, assembled themselves, according to the choirs, in the square before the congregation-house, and formed a circle. Twelve Brethren brought the remains out of the meeting-hall, and thirty-two presbyters and deacons, who were present from different congregations, even from Holland, England, Ireland, and Greenland, and were the bearers of the corpse by turns, placed themselves around it. At the beginning of the liturgy, the bearers lifted up the coffin, and the procession went in the following order to the Hutberg, on which the burying-ground lies. Before the coffin went the boys-œconomies of Herrnhut, Groß Hennerdorf, and Niesky, the band of music, the girls-œconomy, the late ordinary's daughters, accompanied by some labourers of the Sisters' choirs, and then the liturgist with two bishops. The coffin was carried by sixteen Brethren, and sixteen others went by their sides to change. After the coffin followed the rest of his relations, and some labourers of the Brethren's choirs; next, the married Brethren, the Widowers, the single Brethren and Boys, and then the married Sisters, the Widows, the single Sisters and Girls. On both sides of the way to the Hutberg stood the civil officers of Bertholdsdorf and Hennerdorf. The strangers of distinction stood in or before the houses where the procession was to pass, and the rest of the spectators were placed round the burying-ground. After the corpse had been deposited in a vault, during the singing of some verses, the liturgist prayed part of the Brethren's church-litany, particularly these words: "We pray thee to keep
" us in everlasting fellowship with the whole church triumphant, and particularly with this thy servant, and to let
" us once rest together at thy wounds from all our labour.
" Hear us, O dear Lord and God!" The congregation was dismissed with the benediction, *The Lord bleſs thee, and keep thee, &c.*

The whole was attended, on the part of the strangers, with an uncommon order, stillness and reverence, and on the part of the congregation, notwithstanding a very painful sense of their loss, with such a divine comfort and peace, that those who were present will never forget it. On the 11th of July the Rev. *Burchhard George Mueller*, of *Groß Hennersdorf*, (*Bertholdsdorf* being then vacant) delivered, in the church at *Bertholdsdorf*, the funeral sermon on the words of Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 10. *By the grace of God I am what I am, and his grace, which was bestowed upon me, was not in vain ; but I laboured more abundantly than they all : yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me ;* in which he amply related the services of this venerable man in the work of God among Christians and Heathens, and particularly in the Protestant Church.

THE MODERN HISTORY OF THE BRETHREN.

PART IX.

From the Ordinary's Decease in 1760, to the General Synod in 1764.

§ 238.

AFTER the interment of the remains of the late ordinary, the labourers residing at Herrnhut, and those who were present from the nearest congregations, met in conference to consult how the work of God among Christians and Heathens should be carried on, till a synod could be convened, which was not suitable at present, on account of the troubles of the war. It was resolved that every thing should be continued as hitherto, and that the general care of the Unity be committed to a conference established by the late ordinary, which was called, *Die Raths-Conferenz* (conference for advice). At the same time, the *Board of Directors*, formed by the late ordinary in the year 1757, (§ 207.) continued to have the care of those things which they were particularly charged with. But when, after some time, several members of the *Conference for Advice* went from Herrn-

but to other places, agreeably to their appointment, another board was formed in the beginning of the year 1762, consisting of some servants of the church of the Brethren, at that time resident at Herrnhut. This board was called, *The small Conference*, and had in a view the furtherance of the work of God in all the congregations and missions of the Brethren, and their mutual connexion. This conference, soon after, made an *Interim's Arrangement*, according to which affairs should proceed till the next synod. Our dear Lord, avowing his servants who were anxious to obtain his comfort, counsel and help, favoured them with a perception of his peace, and granted them the confidence and cordial concurrence of the congregations.

§ 239.

ONE of the first things taken in hand after the ordinary's decease, was the fitting out and forwarding a second company for the *East Indies*, which had been, in part, determined in his time. I will now recite the occasion and beginning of this mission.

In the year 1758, the ordinary had been informed that colonists were wanted in *Denmark* for a certain island. He offered some Brethren for this purpose, in a letter to the king. He was answered by one of the king's ministers, that this island was already provided for; but it would give his majesty singular pleasure, if some Brethren would settle on the *Nicobar Islands*, situate North of *Sumatra* in the *East Indies*, and endeavour to bring the inhabitants there to the knowledge of Christ. (On these islands a commercial establishment had been begun, in the year 1756, from *Tranquebar*, and the name of, *The Frederic's Islands*, was given them.) This offer was accepted. In the mean time, advice came that the first undertaking in these islands had miscarried, and that almost all the colonists, sent thither, had died. The Brethren were not discouraged by this; but inform-

informed the said minister at Copenhagen, that, notwithstanding this account, they were willing to undertake the mission in *Nicobar*; but that it would be necessary that the Brethren should have a settlement at *Tranquebar*, in order to support the mission in the islands from the coast of *Coromandel*: because it would not be advisable or feasible, to settle a colony in this distant wild country, immediately from Europe. This proposal was well received, and a deputy desired, with whom ministry might treat farther. *George John Stahlmann* was nominated, who, in the year 1758, went for that purpose to Copenhagen. After some negotiations with the *Asiatic Company*, he received an edict*, ratified by the king, on the 19th of January 1759; according to which the Brethren had a place of settlement granted them, at or near *Tranquebar*, in which they were to enjoy, besides the civil privileges, all desirable liberty of religion and conscience, agreeable to the church-discipline of the Brethren. Leave was also given, ‘To preach the gospel to the Heathen, and to embody them into the Christian church by baptism, according to the laudable example of their Brethren in Greenland and the West Indies.’

As soon as this became known in the congregations, many Brethren immediately offered themselves for this mission. Besides their leader, the before-mentioned *Stahlmann*, and two students of divinity, *Adam Gottlieb Voelker*, and *Christopher Buttler*, (the former intending chiefly to learn the *Malabar* language, and the latter, the *Portuguese*,) eleven other single Brethren were dispatched from *Zeist* to Copenhagen. The 7th of November 1759, they went on board the ship, *Count Moltke*, captain *Schmid*. In the same vessel a new governor sailed for *Tranquebar*; of whom, and all the officers and sailors, the Brethren enjoyed much kindness. Having touched at the *Cape de Verd Islands*, they, in April

* This edict may be read in the Rev. *Josiah Lork's Collections towards a new Church-History*, &c. Vol. II. p. 328.

1760, ran into the *Cape of Good Hope*. Here they heard by two friends of the missionary *George Schmid*, who once had lived here, that some of the Hottentots, baptized by him, were still alive. The 2d of July 1760, they arrived at Tranquebar, having performed the voyage in eight months, safely, and without any considerable attack of sickness. They were received by the government and the inhabitants with particular love and friendship. They directly bought a garden with an house, about a mile from the city, and built for themselves, and for the accommodation of those who might come after them, another house, and some workshops and out-houses. They soon planted *Nellu*, or rice, on their land, settled themselves in their trades, and met with a good sale at Tranquebar, and in the neighbouring Dutch and English colonies.

§ 240.

BEFORE an account could be received in Europe of the arrival of the first company, a second was dispatched from Barby, in September 1760, consisting of four married couples and five single Brethren. Ample instructions were given them for all the Brethren in the East Indies. One chief article was, ‘ That, with respect to the Christian religions in the East Indies, and especially those *Malabars* who had been converted to Christianity through the service of the Royal Danish mission, for many years established at Tranquebar, they should so demean themselves, that no hinderance or disturbance might accrue to this mission by their means; but that the kingdom of Jesus might be furthered by love and peace;’ which instruction, as it appears from the accounts received from them, they have faithfully observed.

This company set sail from Copenhagen on the 19th of December 1760: but were obliged to put twice into *Norway*, and in February 1761, into *Shetland*, and suffered much from

from contrary winds and great cold. In May, they landed at *Porto Bray*, in the *Cape de Verd Islands*. They did not touch at the Cape, but in July took in fresh provisions on the island *Anna Joanna*, near *Madagascar*. The 22d of August they arrived at the habitations of their Brethren at *Tranquebar*, and found them all well, though each of them had had a slight sickness. They themselves had been preserved from severe disorders, during this troublesome voyage. But, soon after, *Nicholas Andrew Jæschke*, the leader of the second company, who was appointed one of the directors of the whole mission, was seized with the sickness which almost every European there must undergo, before he is seasoned to the clime. The 1st of January, 1762, he ended his race, which had been attended with blessing in many places, (§ 114.) His wife followed him a few weeks after.

As to the labour of these Brethren among the Heathen, it was not in their power to attempt any thing on the *Nicobar* islands during the first years, being obliged to wait till the East India company should make again preparation for settling a colony there. In the mean time, the government at *Tranquebar* continued in the same good disposition towards the Brethren, and favoured them with all due protection. They became also known in different places on the coast, and had much work to do for others. The English governor in *Bengal* wished that they, or at least some of them, would go to *Chatigan*, on the river *Ganges*; and one of the Heathen kings would gladly have received them in his territory. But their determination was, to await, with faith and patience, the opportunity of going to *Nicobar*.

§ 241.

IN the conferences, mentioned in § 238, it was resolved to guard against the farther growth of the children's œconomies, which already amounted to six hundred persons, including

the tutors and attendants; the support of whom was attended with great difficulties, on account of the dearness of provisions, owing to the war. In this view, the labourers in the congregations were desired to put the schools in their respective places on a better footing, that the parents might not be obliged to send their children to the œconomies of the Unity. Accordingly, a successful beginning was made of it immediately. With respect to children out of our circle, it had been publicly made known, as early as the year 1747, that the Brethren were not in a capacity of receiving them for the future into the œconomies of the Unity. But, notwithstanding this, their number was greatly increased. It was, therefore, once more notified in all the congregations, that such could not be admitted any longer, without the highest necessity.

In several Heathen-missions, some of the necessary assistants were departed to their Lord, in the midst of their work; and in others, an increase of labourers was needful, the labour increasing. Brother *Spangenberg* wrote from America, that labourers were wanted in Pennsylvania, the Jerseys, Maryland, New England, and Carolina. In consequence of this, a large company was sent, in the year 1761, to *Pennsylvania* and *Carolina*, seven persons to *Surinam*, five to *St. Thomas*, and three to *Greenland*. The necessary provision was sent to *Greenland*, as usual every year; and to *Lichtenfels*, a congregation-house and meeting-hall ready framed. The Brethren in the other Heathen-congregations were furnished with the common necessities, and also with some materials for their handicrafts, by which they might earn something towards their support; and the voyage of the second company to the East Indies called for large supplies. All these things required great expences; and it could scarcely be supposed, that, in these troublesome times of war and universal scarcity, all that was necessary could be raised. But the work of God, begun in all parts, was carried on in reliance

ance upon the help of God ; and, at the end of the year, it could be said, with humble thankfulness,

“ He’s never at a loss
 “ For proper ways and means ;
 “ And ev’ry act he does,
 “ An act of grace remains.”

§ 242.

THE Brethren, going to America and the West India islands, could not conveniently be dispatched but from Holland and England. This furnished an occasion for a visitation in most of the congregations in Germany and other countries, which the bishop *Johannes de Watteville*, with a few other labourers, undertook. He travelled, by way of *Niesky*, *Klein Welke*, and *Barby*, to *Zeist*, where the Brethren, bound to *St. Thomas* and *Surinam*, were dispatched. The same was done at *London*, with those going to *Pennsylvania* and *North Carolina*. At this opportunity, an English provincial synod was convened, at which the superintendency was committed to *John Nitschmann*, a native of *Moravia*, (§ II.) on whom it was incumbent to have in view the welfare of all the congregations of the Brethren in these countries. Conferences were held with the labourers, and sundry beneficial regulations made to promote the inward growth and outward subsistence of this congregation. The same was done, on the return of the visitor, in the congregations at *Zeist*, *New Wied*, *Marienborn*, *New Dietendorf*, and *Ebersdorf*.

With regard to the state of the congregations, some of them were not much increased in number, though the vacant places were filled up again ; but some were very much multiplied. Their spiritual progress, since the departure of the ordinary, yielded joy and comfort to the labourers. They saw the fruits of his last labours with pleasure, and many of his discourses

discourses were read in the congregations with great blessing. They valued them the more, and made the more use of them, as they had this chosen witness of Jesus no longer among them. But, in order to deliver into every one's hands the choicest and most edifying parts of his discourses, *Gottfried Clemens* resolved to publish *Extracts* of them. He began with the *Discourses on the Book of Genesis*, and delivered them to the press in the year 1763. A complete *Collection* was made and printed of the *Daily Words*, selected from the holy scriptures by the late ordinary, from the year 1729 to 1761. *The small Hymn-book of the Brethren*, of which the ordinary published the first essay in the year 1753, was revised in 1763, and printed for the use of the congregations.

The Brethren were assiduously intent upon it, that the word of God might be taught in the congregations in purity and with clearness. To that end, they endeavoured, more and more, to accommodate their manner of delivering the truth to the capacities of the auditory, and to avoid all obscure and indeterminate expressions. But they were, above all, solicitous that the members of the congregations might experience the power of the gospel in their hearts, and evidence it in their lives as children of God. Where this was wanting, they exercised due earnestness; yet with proper precaution, lest the gospel might be delivered in a legal manner, or even exchanged for the law. But if any one were not only insincere himself, but also hurtful to others, and could not be recovered by warnings and admonitions; such were put away, without respect of persons, rank, or office, of which there were several painful instances. On the other hand, the Brethren had the joy, only in the year 1761, to see between twenty and thirty persons, who had erred and separated themselves in former times, returning again, or to receive letters from them, intreating the pardon of the congregation for the offence they had given.

§ 243.

IN the mean time, the destructive war, which was broken out in the year 1756, still continued; and, notwithstanding the rest obtained on one side, by a separate peace between England and France, in the year 1762, the distress in other parts, and the dearth increased more and more almost every where, and caused the Brethren to sigh and pray fervently for the blessing of peace. So much the more impressive was to them the word for the day, when the first news of the general peace was made known: *For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord.* Psalm xii. 5. The joy and gratitude with which all the congregations celebrated the day of thanksgiving for the peace, is past description. I will only make some mention of the celebration of it at *Herrnhut*, on the 21st of March, 1763.

The congregation assembled at the sound of the trumpets at eight o'clock in the morning, and first sang an extract of the *Song of the three Children in the fiery Furnace*. Then Brother *Johannes de Watteville* spoke upon the following text, appointed by government for this day:

Blessed be the Lord, because he hath heard the voice of my supplications.

The Lord is my strength, and my shield; my heart trusted in him, and I am helped: therefore my heart greatly rejoiceth, and with my song will I praise him.

The Lord is their strength, and he is the saving strength of his anointed.

Save thy people, and bless thine inheritance: feed them also, and lift them up for ever. Psalm xxviii. 6—9.

He briefly enumerated the benefits for which we are called upon to praise the Lord. The discourse was heard with a mixture
of

of joy and humiliation ; and, it having been said, among other things : “ He has delivered us out of all danger ; in the midst “ of the war he has preserved us ;” the whole congregation wept as one man, and their tears of gratitude and joy caused an awful pause. “ Oh, were it in our power,” (says the writer of that account) “ instead of words, which are the “ least, to communicate to our Brethren the heart-melting “ sense of grace, which prevailed at the time !” After the discourse, the congregation kneeled down, and offered up prayer and thanksgiving unto the Lord with innumerable tears, and the conclusion was made with singing the *Te Deum*. They then went to the thanksgiving-sermon in the church at *Bertholdsdorf* ; and, in the afternoon, the whole congregation had a love-feast, during which a cantata was sung set to music.

§ 244.

AFTER the love-feast, a narrative of the troubles which had befallen each place by occasion of the war, and of their preservation and deliverance by the Lord in all dangerous circumstances, compiled from the accounts of all the congregations of the Brethren, was read at two meetings, and heard with a joyful, but humble, sensation. I will here take no farther notice of the sufferings of the congregations during these seven years of war, and the loss some of them sustained, especially towards the end of it. But yet, were I wholly to pass over in silence all the faithfulness, mercy, and preservation they have experienced, it might be construed by many, who are acquainted with these things, and whom God made use of as instruments in them, as a culpable neglect and ingratitude. I will, therefore, briefly recite some particulars of the accounts read on the festival of thanksgiving ; yet without naming the many, and, some of them, high personages and commanders of the different armies,

armies, who, out of their own free motion, and with pleasure, were subservient to the will of God, in protecting his people. Their memory will not be forgotten by the Brethren; and I am confident, that their names will be thought of in the best manner by the Rewarder of all good in time and in eternity.

§ 245.

AT the commencement of the war, no favour or forbearance could be expected from any of the armies, the controversial writings, and especially some shameless libels, having infused into the minds not only of the common men, but of the officers, and even the chief commanders, such injurious notions of the Brethren, that they could not but be apprehensive of the hardest treatment. The questions which the Brethren were obliged to answer, more than once, to persons of the highest rank, and the enquiries made in places described to them as suspicious, were sufficient indications of the ideas they were prepossessed with by means of the defamatory writings. But the greater was their astonishment, when they were informed, nay, had ocular demonstrations, not only of the groundlessness, but of the direct contrary, of these evil reports. This made so much the deeper impressions on many, as they found in the congregations of the Brethren the character, almost entirely forgotten at this time of day, which our Saviour attributes to his disciples and true followers: *Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake.* Matt. v. 11. These had scarcely related, in the camps, and at their quarters, how they had found things, but all were desirous of knowing the Brethren, and attending their public meetings. The Holy Ghost worked in such a powerful manner in many of them, that the secrets of their hearts were made manifest, and they reported, that God was present there of a truth. (1 Cor. xiv. 25.)

An officer of rank once said, "It is indeed a wonder of God, to see a people who believe with the heart! We poor men believe with the mouth, but our hearts are empty." Many were convinced of the truth of the gospel, by seeing instances of persons living conformably to it; and it has been found, that many passed into eternity as poor sinners, in reliance upon the merits of Christ, which had been set forth to them in the sermons of the Brethren. Many a partisan, whose name spread terror, were, by kind treatment, and more especially by what they heard at the public meetings of the Brethren for a blessing to their souls, softened to such a degree, that they not only spared the Brethren, but, at their request, also other inhabitants in those parts. When the army of the king of Prussia was in the neighbourhood of Herrnhut, this, and the adjacent congregations and children's œconomies were visited by persons of high rank, and were favoured with all kindness and forbearance possible in such cases. The like favour and protection they enjoyed, when the Imperial army came into those parts. Many hundred officers of divers nations and religions, among whom was a great number of princes, visited at Herrnhut within the space of a fortnight. Among the rest, it was a special pleasure to this congregation, to receive a visit from their Royal highnesses, the two Saxon princes, *Xaverius* and *Charles*. From that time, the visits became so numerous, that the Brethren were often scarcely able to give a proper account of things to every one, and to show them the institutions, before suspected, but now so much praised in the camp. "Ah," said at last a great general, "let not this trouble be irksome to you. As many visitants, so many apologists in all the world." The effect of it was afterwards perceptible in many places. In short, the despised and calumniated *Herrnhuters* (to use, for once, this improper name of distinction) found so much favour with all the armies and their commanders, that, if a

man had a pass from Herrnhut, he could pass through camps, posts, and cities, without being detained.

§ 246.

NOTWITHSTANDING the many visits, nay, the frequent marches of small and large bodies, and whole armies, through the places, the congregations continued their usual meetings, without molestation. In a certain place, a newly built, and not yet inhabited, congregation-house, together with the meeting-hall, had been pitched upon for an hospital; but the sovereign of the country exerted himself in the most strenuous manner to prevent it, and chose rather to evacuate one of his own buildings for this use. In some places, indeed, the quartering of troops could not entirely be avoided, which was attended with the usual inconveniences. But, at the same time, much favour was shown by the officers. Some of them insisted upon their men behaving in a quiet and orderly manner, for this reason, that good people lived in the place. Besides, the quartering of small numbers of troops prevented the quartering of larger bodies, which would have been attended with more trouble. The chief commanders, by proper remonstrances of the impossibility of quartering men, and supplying them with forage, in congregation-places, so full of inhabitants, without land, were soon induced to allow them protections and safeguards, nay, they did it frequently of their own accord. In case one or other subaltern had a bad intention; before it could be fully put into execution, it was frustrated by his superiors. Thus also many too heavy contributions were, by the kind intervention of persons in power, either greatly lessened, or entirely remitted, by orders from higher commanders. Large bodies, on their retreat, passed through the congregation-places, without committing any excesses. Many thousands of a retreating army, who wanted bread, marching through a congregation-place, desired, with great civility, that they might be indulged with as much as could be spared.

All the inhabitants freely gave their whole stock of bread; even the children in the schools chearfully divided with them the bread provided for their breakfast, and the bakers baked as much as possible for their use. This willingness made a grateful impression upon them, of which the Brethren afterwards reaped the benefit in other places.

The preservations, when in danger, are innumerable. A certain congregation was furrounded, for five days together, by two main armies in battle-array against each other, the batteries being directed towards the place. But God so ordered it, that they moved farther, and the whole ended in a skirmish behind the houses. Another congregation-place was in like manner furrounded. On one side of it, one army was driven by another from the adjacent heights. The cannonading went directly over the place. But it received no harm, either from the actual attack, just behind the place, or by the retreat on the other side of it.

Notwithstanding the hot press of young men at different times, no Brother was forcibly taken away, either on journeys, or in the congregation-places. Not one of those Brethren, who, on messages and as guides, were often in the midst of skirmishes, or in other dangerous circumstances, received any bodily harm, although struck and fired at, several times. Even a company of single Sisters, with their convoy, happening once on the road to fall in with a strong body of troops, which were then going to attack the enemy, were civilly treated, protected, and, just at the right time, directed to a bye-way by the officers.

§ 247.

THE Brethren's congregation at *Newsalz*, in Silesia, experienced a particular preservation of God, in the midst of plundering and flames. The first three years, they had entirely escaped the calamities of the war, till, in September 1759, the whole baggage of the Russian army encamped in those parts. On the 24th of September, hav-

ing endured, for eighteen hours together, the most poignant anguish, the place was totally plundered ; and the 25th, the houses were set on fire over their heads. But, by divine assistance, all the Brethren, Sisters, and Children, after the loss of all their substance, were saved and delivered out of the flames. It was, probably, the contrivance of malicious people, intent both upon satisfying their thirst of plunder, and wreaking their vengeance upon the Brethren. As soon as the plundering began, the Sisters and Children retired into the congregation-house and chapel ; and when the houses were set on fire, the resolution was taken to save themselves by flight. Some officers, endeavouring to prevent their escape, would encourage them, and promised to put a stop to the plundering, and to order the fire to be extinguished : but the Brethren had reason not to trust their pretences. They, indeed, saw no way to escape by flight, being watched, and the place surrounded with a barricade of wagons. But some Brethren threw money among those that watched, who would suffer no one to go out of the congregation-house, which amused them so long, till all the Sisters were got out at the back-door. The wagons being obliged, on account of the fire, to make an opening, they who fled found just room enough to pass. However, many Brethren still remained behind in the place. These were compelled to extinguish the fire, though nothing more was to be saved. Some of them, endeavouring to retire into the congregation-house, on the supposition, that the other Brethren and Sisters were still there, found all the doors nailed up, except the back-door, by which they had escaped. Many of the plunderers were extremely enraged, that they had been suffered to get off. It is no hard matter to guess at the cause of it. As soon as the fugitives got together in the open country, they formed a circle, and thanked their dear Lord with tears for this gracious deliverance out of all the danger of their lives and persons. For, though all the Brethren had been plundered, many severely beaten, and

most of them almost stripped naked; yet not one had lost his life, or received any hurt in his person. Those that had lain many weeks sick, and lying-in women, were so much strengthened, as to be able to escape on foot. The plunderers, indeed, pursued them; but were driven away by regular troops: some of whom, out of compassion, and with tears in their eyes, gave them a share of their ammunition-bread. They were still troubled for some hours, on the way, by another party; but thereby, unknown to them, only detained so long, till a plundering party had left a village again, through which they were to pass.

The whole company took their way to *Gnadenberg*, near *Bunzlau*, and were treated every where on the road with much kindness; although the whole district was greatly exhausted, and laid waste. They reached *Gnadenberg* on the 28th of September, before break of day. Having been supplied by their Brethren with the necessary clothing, they were divided into the nearest congregations, and, as poor exiles, every where received in love. Some of the Brethren that staid behind, had been dispersed; but, after various hardships, they all came to the neighbouring congregations.

§ 248.

A SIMILAR danger beset the Bohemian congregation at *Rueksdorf*, when, in October 1760, the Russian troops, under general *Tottleben*, lay before *Berlin*. The Sisters and Children were brought, for safety, to Berlin, and most of them were lodged in the congregation-house of the Brethren in William-street, where they yet were not exempted from great anxiety. The Brethren suffered much, being plundered of their all. Some were ill treated, and, amidst an almost total want of water, exposed to continual danger, among the many fires in the street, and the narrow lanes of thatched houses, barns, and stables. But they, amidst all hardships, bravely held out to the end; and saved from a fire,

fire, which once began to burn, not only their own habitations, but even the houses of the adjoining village, which were quite deserted. They could not sufficiently magnify the preservation of God from all the danger their persons and lives were exposed to, and were exceedingly thankful for the contribution made by other congregations towards some reparation of their loss.

The dread of the like usage induced the Brethren at *Gnadenberg* in Silesia, in the year 1761, on the approach of irregular Russian troops, which every where spread terror and distress, to bring all the Sisters and Children into safety in Saxony. Most of the Sisters were received at *Niesky*, and in the manor-house of *Trebus*; the boys, at *Groß Hennerdorf*; and the girls, at *Herrnhut*: at which places they were maintained for above a quarter of a year, until they could again repair with safety to Silesia. However, the congregation at *Gnadenberg*, excepting some small extortions, suffered no harm; the commanders, both of the Russian and Imperial armies, having sent them safe-guards, before they presumed to desire it.

§ 249.

THE painful occurrence at *Newsalz* caused universal grief and concern; and the diacony of the Brethren (§ 178.) was again obliged to take a great burden upon itself, in order to assist in bearing the loss occasioned by it. But yet, all this was over-balanced by the gratitude for the deliverance of the Brethren and Sisters in this and other places. As my design is not properly, to preserve the remembrance of the calamities of the war, but rather, the signal deliverances out of them; so will I neither here relate the considerable damages, which those Brethren who were possessed of landed estates, suffered, in common with others of their neighbours, by contributions, foraging, and the like. But I desire to extol the faithful providence of our heavenly Father, who,

in the midst of all their losses, and the universal great scarcity and dearth of provisions, provided for the congregations, and their numerous children's æconomies, and withal enabled them, even to support the work of God among the Heathen, as before. For this end, God made use of no other than the common means, the labour of their hands, blessing, in an uncommon manner, the handicrafts and manufactures in the congregations. For, as soon as the armies perceived the goodness of the Brethren's work, and found it very convenient, that the price of every commodity was fixed without abatement; the Brethren had not only full employment, but the commanders themselves, several times, took care, that their goods should pass to and from the fairs, at the very time, when all commerce was at a stand. And when the conveyance was stopped, they gave the Brethren passports, that they might be able to provide themselves with what they wanted. A certain general declared, in his pass, that he gave it in order to show his particular regard for Herrnhut, and for the dear children there, and to relieve their necessities.

The Brethren were, in general, much indebted to their children's æconomies. The simple, free, serene behaviour and language of the children to every one, without shyness or too great freedom, but more especially, the content and happiness, which shone in the eyes of these little ones, procured them, from the commencement of the war, the admiration and affection of the officers of high and low rank, of which the Brethren afterwards reaped the benefit in many cases. Thus it was truly verified, that *Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings he hath ordained strength.* (Psalm viii. 2.)

I will give no farther special account of the particular assistance which the Brethren experienced in their buildings, being enabled not only to finish the houses begun before the war, in almost all the congregations, but, in the midst of the war, to begin and finish quite new and considerable buildings, for the better regulating their various institutions.

I will

I will conclude this relation with some sentences out of an account of Brother *Spangenberg* from *America*, concerning the danger and divine preservation, experienced by the Brethren, in the Indian war in *America*, as described above, from § 217 to 224.

§ 250.

“ THE Lord (it is said in this account) has guided us with his eyes, from the beginning to the end of the war.

“ By means of the destruction of our colony, and the Indian town on the *Mahony*, (§ 217.) he entirely cleared the Brethren of a calumny, devised by the wicked enemy, to raise a tumult against them in these countries, and to destroy their places.

“ He favoured us, in these hard times, when all that lived behind our settlements were obliged to flee, with being a refuge to many hundred poor people.

“ He, like a kind father, provided for us and our guests, even for our cattle, in this time of scarcity, and put it in our power, by the assistance of some friends in this country, to furnish the naked refugees with the necessary clothing.

“ He rendered the preaching of the gospel successful, not only among the white people, who fled to *Bethlehem*, and to *Bethabara* in North Carolina; but also among the Indians, who, during the war, visited at *Bethlehem*.

“ Our dear Lord enabled us to build some new congregation-places.

“ He preserved us together in one mind in love, inasmuch, that, at that time, none of our people desired to go away, in order to be better provided for, or to be more safe.

“ Some Brethren, indeed, who were going to Europe with the ship, *The Irene*, were taken at sea, and some letters were lost; but whatever was sent from thence to

“ us,

“ us, and the Brethren who came to America, arrived
“ safely.

“ He blessed us, both in the cultivation of the land, and in
“ our commerce, more than before, and gave us opportu-
“ nities of supplying the fugitives with work and sustenance;
“ and maintained and increased our credit.

“ He gave us friends among the savages, who averted much
“ mischief. When savages even intended to attack us in the
“ night, he deterred them from it by the accidental dis-
“ charge of a gun, or by other incidents; of which we
“ afterwards have been informed of many instances.

“ He made use of the war to this end, to make manifest,
“ more than could be in the common course of things, our
“ disposition towards him, our loyalty to government, love
“ to our neighbours, and willingness to serve even the ene-
“ mies and murderers, when inclined to peace; for which
“ we often found opportunities.

“ We were enabled to preserve our children in innocence,
“ and to keep them free from fear and terror.

“ We continued undisturbed and uninterrupted in the
“ course of our congregations.

“ He, by means of the war, granted us to attain to the
“ experimental knowledge of many things, of which, in
“ mere theory, nothing determinate can be said.

“ He, in particular, strengthened our faith in his word,
“ our filial confidence in him, our resignation and child-
“ like submission to his will, our courage and boldness to
“ venture upon him, by means of many trials. We were
“ like sheep, ready and willing for the slaughter, to whom
“ his way was agreeable and right, crooked as it might ap-
“ pear, if he only led us into his arms and bosom. But,
“ upon hearing, that not only the savages had said, ‘ Let
“ us see, whether the God of the Brethren is so strong, as to
“ be able to deliver them from our hatchet;’ but that even
“ one of our neighbours had uttered this speech: ‘ The
“ Brethren

‘ Brethren have always spoken so much of their Saviour,
 ‘ and prayed to him: now it will appear, whether he can
 ‘ save them;’ our hearts were inflamed with zeal against
 “ these blasphemies, and we could not forbear calling upon
 “ him, for the sake of his honour, *Lord, help us!* And he
 “ has helped us.

“ Blessed be the Lord, whose faithfulness has been new
 “ every morning! Blessed be his name, that he, by his power,
 “ has averted all evil from us!”

§ 251.

THE peace with Russia was no sooner concluded, but the Royal chamber at *Glogau* in Silesia desired, that the establishment of the Brethren near *Newsalz* might be rebuilt. But they, by reason of the great loss they had sustained here and in other places, saw no possibility for it, and at least could not think of it before the end of the war; they even were almost determined not to engage any more in it. But after the general peace, the king, by a provincial counsellor, signified to the direction of the Unity of the Brethren, that the rebuilding of this colony would give him particular pleasure. This caused the Brethren to send their syndic, *John Frederic Koeber*, as their deputy, to *Berlin*; especially since it was found necessary to make remonstrances with regard to several grievances in the other Silesian congregations. The result was a renewed grant given to the Unity of the evangelical Brethren, adhering to the Augustan confession, bearing date the 18th of July 1763, with a confirmation of the Royal grants of the 25th of December 1742, and the 7th of May 1746, to which the assurance was annexed, that they should be protected against all encroachments: upon which the rebuilding of the settlement of the Brethren at *Newsalz* was begun.

§ 252.

THE Brethren at *New Dietendorf* had indeed enjoyed all protection they could wish for, in their present congregation-regulation, so well adapted to the church-constitution of the country; (§ 197.) and were, especially during the war, at several visits of the duke and his family, and of many persons of rank of the different departments of government, repeatedly encouraged to enlarge their settlement, with the promise of all possible assistance. A good beginning had also been made. The single Brethren had built a new house and some workshops, and the inhabitants a larger congregation-hall for their daily meetings. (§ 212.) But still they wished to receive from their gracious sovereign an assurance in form of the free exercise of their congregation-orders and divine worship, and requested the direction of the Unity of the Brethren, to lend them their assistance, in procuring for them such a grant from their sovereign, as would entirely satisfy them. To this end, the before-mentioned syndic *Koeber* was, in the beginning of the year 1764, deputed to *Gotha*. The affair having been duly treated with the ministers of the duke, an edict was issued bearing date the 12th of March, declaring, “ That, after a previous solid examination of the constitution of the Brethren established
 “ there, all and each of the rights and liberties, which the
 “ rest of the inhabitants of the country enjoy, shall be
 “ granted to the evangelical Brethren’s congregation, adhering to the unaltered Augustan confession, and to all the
 “ members of the Brethren’s Unity; and that they shall be
 “ protected, in particular, in the free public exercise of religion, and the discipline and order in use in the congregations of the evangelical Brethren.” Upon this most gracious edict, the Brethren at *New Dietendorf* continued to build, and endeavoured to answer the expectation of the duke and government, to the utmost of their power.

§ 253.

ONE consequence of the farther enlargement of the Brethren's acquaintance during the war, was, several invitations to form new colonies, all of which they were then obliged to decline. Among these was one to *Russia*. A certain eminent Russian general having been induced to consider the congregations of the Brethren in another point of view, than they had been described to him, his good testimony was the cause, that, even during the reign of the empress *Elizabeth*, a certain minister of state made repeated offers to the Brethren of a settlement upon his estates in *Russia*. The answer was, 'That, considering the well-known events, which, during these twenty years past, had occurred in the Russian empire, with respect to the Brethren, and considering so many accusations against them brought before her Imperial majesty, though the Brethren never yet had an opportunity of evincing their innocence; they could not see what use could be made of such an overture. And in general, the Brethren could not settle in any country, before a previous examination, and the approbation of the sovereign.' Here the matter rested for that time. After peace was restored, towards the end of the year 1762, the Brethren were again invited to *Russia*, and that by the aforesaid general. But as no other answer could be given but the preceding; the affair was laid before her majesty, the present empress, who resolved to appoint an examination of the cause of the Brethren; and for this end ordered the acts of the Livonian commission, together with all the papers relating to it, to be sent from *Petersburg* to *Moscow*. On the report which followed, her majesty resolved to do justice to the Brethren, and to assure them of her favour, and that she would receive them in her empire. With this resolution, an aulic counsellor of the empress arrived at *Herrnhut* in the month of September, 1763. He having opened the affair to the direction

rection of the Unity of the Brethren, it was resolved to return the empress the most respectful thanks by two deputies, and to lay before her, and the spiritual and temporal departments of government, the state of the church of the Brethren in doctrine and constitution, waiting for her farther most gracious resolution. On the 31st of October, the Brethren, *Paul Eugene Layritz* and *John Lorez*, set off, as deputies, with the Imperial counsellor, to *Petersburg*, and, having delivered their credentials, were presented to the empress by count *Gregory Orloff*. Her majesty most graciously made enquiry after the history, doctrine and constitution of the Brethren, and, on the request of the deputies for an examination, nominated for it, *Demetrius*, metropolitan of *Nowogrod*, presiding member of the synod, in which the superintendency of all ecclesiastical matters is lodged, and the said count *Orloff*. The examination was performed in several conferences, in which the deputies laid as the foundation, a declaration of the adherence of the Unity of the Brethren to the Augustan confession, and, moreover, an account in Latin of the constitution of the church of the Brethren. After the report was made, the opinion of the whole synod was desired; which was to this effect, ‘ That
‘ the Brethren, some small difference excepted, agree in doctrine with that of the Protestants; but in their discipline,
‘ usages, and Christian walk, are studious to resemble the
‘ primitive Christians, and call themselves, Evangelical
‘ Brethren.’ Upon this, an Imperial *Ukase* (edict) followed, bearing date the ^{11th}_{22d} of February, 1764, which was sent to all the governors of the provinces of the Russian empire, and published in the news-papers. In this edict, among others, are these words, “ A most gracious permission is granted to *The Unity of the Evangelical Brethren*,
“ to come into the empire, and to enjoy a full liberty of
“ conscience, religion, and church-constitution, according
“ to their own discipline, as laid by them before the synod.
“ —And

“ —And thus, we receive all the Brethren of the Unity,
 “ as many as have either already settled, or shall hereafter
 “ settle, in our whole empire, into our most sublime pro-
 “ tection, &c.”

After a very gracious audience of leave, in which her majesty declared, how highly agreeable it would be to her, if a colony of the Brethren would settle in the kingdom of *Astracan*; the deputies returned to Germany, and, on their return to Herrnhut, on the 11th of April, 1764, gave a report of their transactions, which had been accompanied with the grace of God.

§ 254.

THE inward state of the congregations has been treated of in § 242, and the outward circumstances have here and there been touched upon; so that I have now only to revert to some remarkable alterations in some congregations.

The congregations in *Saxony*, by the demise of the gracious father of the country, the king of *Poland*, and elector of *Saxony*, *Augustus III*, on the 5th of October, and, soon after, of his successor, the elector *Frederic Christian*, on the 17th of December 1763, were deeply affected, and so much the more, as they had enjoyed under them not only all desirable protection, but also distinguished favour. However, the Brethren had the consolation, to be assured by his Royal highness, prince *Xaverius*, as administrator of the electorate, and the electoral house and ministry, of the continuance of the same gracious dispositions, which they also actually experienced.

The *Vandal* congregation at *Klein Welke* was, as it were, grown up in the midst of the troubles of war; the congregation-hall and most of the family-houses being built during that time: and after the restoration of peace, the single Brethren began to build a house for themselves.

The Brethren at *Barby* were a blessing to many souls both far and near. Several Brethren, having finished their studies

dies in the college; were called to the labour in congregations and choirs, in schools, and in the Heathen-missions. The Brethren's institutions there were honoured with the visits of some great personages of the Royal house of Prussia; during their residence at Magdeburg.

At *Rueksdorf*, near Berlin, the meeting-hall of the Bohemian Brethren, built in the year 1753, being now too small, they built, during the war, a more spacious one, together with some dwellings for the œconomy of girls, and finished them in the year 1761. They enjoyed, this time, the same Royal favour, as they did, in the year 1753, at the building of the œconomy of boys, and the old meeting-hall. (§ 208.) The negotiation, respecting the restoration of a colony of the Brethren at *Newsalz*, proved also of benefit to the Bohemian Brethren at *Berlin*. Some time before the synod held in the year 1764, several assistants, and candidates for service, of the Bohemian nation, were accepted acoluths, and some were ordained deacons of the church of the Brethren; an act, which had not been done in the Bohemian language for one hundred and forty years, since 1624.

At *Ebersdorf*, a grant was made to the Brethren by the sovereign of the country of a particular parcel of land for the enlargement of their settlement; and a new grant, bearing date the 1st of June, 1761, was executed in behalf of the congregation of the Brethren there.

§ 255.

THE congregations in the dominions of *Great Britain* lost, in the year 1760, their gracious sovereign, king *George II*, under whose protection they had been, first of all, established, and greatly increased. The address which, like other religious constitutions, they presented to their present most gracious king, was graciously received, and printed with the rest.

The dearth in the whole country occasioned many troubles. The Brethren at *Duckenfield* were accused of having bought, and laid up in their chapel, a large quantity of corn, with a view to enhance the price. The populace flocked together out of the country, with an intent to demolish the chapel; but, having searched, and found nothing in it, they acknowledged the Brethren's innocence.

The schools, established in the societies in *Yorkshire*, proceeded in blessing; and many, who did not belong to the Brethren, sent their children to them. These often proved a blessing to their parents, and made them desirous to attend the Brethren's meetings. Even people, who before opposed and persecuted the Brethren, were by this means made friends.

A select number of the society at *Haverfordwest* in South Wales, was, in the year 1763, formed into a congregation of the Brethren; and in several places, both in North and South Wales, Brethren were invited to preach, after the *Berlin-Discourses*, (§ 76.) translated into Welch, became known among this nation.

On *Ballykennedy-Land* in the North of Ireland (§ 216.) some families had begun to build in the year 1759, and in 1764 the single Brethren built an house there. The congregation-place, thus begun, was called, *Gracehill*. The inhabitants of these parts being very poor, they were enabled, by a loan from other congregations, in the year 1765, to erect a church and other buildings, especially a choir-house of the single Sisters. The preaching of the gospel spread farther, and, in some places, new societies were settled, and chapels built. On occasion of an insurrection in the year 1763, the Brethren in those parts had their share of the distress of the country, and were in great terror and danger.

§ 256.

THE company of above forty persons, mentioned in § 241, most of whom were before appointed to certain posts among Christians and Heathens, arrived safely in America in the year 1761, and were received with the greater joy and thankfulness, as they had been long wished for and expected. At *Bethlehem* and *Nazareth*, according to § 101, a common housekeeping had been established from the beginning, and every one worked for, and received their maintenance from, it. The children's oeconomies, the sick and weak, the widows and orphans, the visits of the labourers to the country-congregations, and from them to Bethlehem, the missionaries among the Heathen, and, in some measure, the Heathens themselves, in various difficult circumstances, were provided for and supported from it. This method could not well be avoided at the beginning of the work of God in a country at that time but little cultivated, to accomplish it without greater expences, than could be borne by any other method. But the colonies increasing, it neither could nor should continue any longer. Hence, even in the life-time of the ordinary, it was determined to alter this housekeeping, and, according to the constitution of the Brethren's congregations in Europe, to put every one in a condition to provide for himself and family; leaving it, at the same time, to his own free will, to contribute of his own towards the maintenance of the children's oeconomies, the Heathen missions, and the poor. This was brought to bear in the years 1761 and 1762.

At that time also the children's oeconomies were better regulated; and in the ensuing year a *Pædagogium* was established of such boys as discovered an inclination and capacity to study, in a large building near Nazareth, called, *Nazareth-hall*, fitted up for that purpose.

In the year 1762, Brother *Spaxenberg*, whom God had made use of with great blessing in this country ever since the year 1736, but more especially since 1744, followed his call to Europe, to be a member of the direction of the Brethren's congregations. His nearest colleague, *Peter Boehler*, who had, in the year 1740, led the colony from Georgia to Pennsylvania, and was one of the Brethren who began the building of Nazareth and Bethlehem, followed him in the year 1764, and was likewise nominated by the synod a member of the direction of the Unity. Thus, there remained only, to conduct the work of God in this extensive field, *Matthew Gottfried Hehl*, who, in the year 1751, came into the country as co-bishop, and *Nathanael Seidel*, who, since the year 1742, had laboured with blessing in America, having especially the visitation of the Heathen-missions committed to him, and who had been consecrated a bishop of the church of the Brethren, in the year 1758.

§ 257.

DURING this period, indeed, no new country-congregations were formed in America: but so much the more pains were taken to bring to effect the advice, given at the synod held at Nazareth in the year 1757, to the Brethren living scattered and at a great distance from their churches, that they should move more closely together. (§ 219.) The building of *Lititz*, near Warwick, was prosecuted; and now likewise three other small congregation-villages were begun to be built, *Hebron*, near Lebanon, *Emmaus*, formerly called, *Maguntsche*, not far from Bethlehem, and *Schoenek*, near Nazareth.

The visits in the congregations and schools, and among the scattered Brethren, as well as the preaching in several places, were continued with blessing, and more and more new hearers attended, who requested the Brethren to preach in their places too, especially in *New England*, in the *Fer-*

seys, on the *Patomak* in *Virginia*, and in *Maryland*. A particular desire was found among the *Negroes* at *New York*, to hear the gospel. In *Staaten-Island* the friends of the Brethren built a chapel for the preaching of the gospel.

During the Indian war, which broke out afresh in the year 1763, *Bethlehem* and the rest of the places of the Brethren, together with the Indian congregation, were in greater danger, than they had been in the last Indian war, not only from the savages, but from the white people themselves, which danger was continued and increased a long time by false reports spread through the country. The oil-mill at Bethlehem taking fire, not by chance, is a clear proof of this. Had not the buildings near it been preserved from the flames by a particular providence of God, all Bethlehem would have been laid in ashes. In what manner the Brethren were delivered from this twofold danger, shall be shown hereafter.

§ 258.

THE Indian congregations at *Nain* near Bethlehem, and at *Wechquatank* behind the Blue Mountains, were established better and better, and were often visited by the Indians of the circumjacent parts. No less than six hundred and fifty of them visited at *Nain*, in the year 1761, on occasion of a treaty with government, whom the Brethren at Bethlehem (the Indians having never much to spare) had to maintain for several days. They did this the more willingly, as most of them, by this opportunity, heard the gospel, probably, not without a blessing; for many came purposely in this view. Many baptized returned out of their dispersion to the Indian congregation, bringing others with them, who, after proper instruction, were baptized. On the other hand, several came with a view to persuade their nearest friends and relations to go away with them; and, after due warning, every one was left to his own choice. The same
conduct

conduct was observed at *Pachgatgoch*. The intention of those who went away with their relations, was not, to forsake the Brethren ; (though some of them grew pretty wild :) but to seek for better providing-places. Most of them shed many tears at the admonitions given them at parting, owned the bad state of their souls, and desired a teacher of the Brethren ; but as none could be granted them on account of their living so very scattered, they entreated them, to visit them frequently. *David Zeisberger*, who, according to § 187, had formerly resided among the Six Nations, and especially at *Onondago*, often for several months together, but who, since the Indian war, lived at Bethlehem, was willing to undertake these visits to the Indians. He made several journeys to *Wajomik*, and farther up on the *Susquehanna*, in rain and snow, through morasses and high waters, through thick underwood, often in storm and tempest, among many falling trees. He had the pleasure to direct many that were gone astray, into the right road again, to declare unto them the remission of sins in the name of the Lord, and to see them depart this life happily. This last was the case especially of two former first-fruits and chief persons in the Indian congregation, who, at their departure out of time, admonished their relations and friends to turn back to the people of God, that they might not be condemned with the world ; which had a good effect upon many.

§ 259.

FROM hence *David Zeisberger* went farther up the *Susquehanna* to *Machwihilusung*, by way of *Lechawachnek*, where, according to § 188, about the year 1755, a great emotion had taken place among the *Menissing* Indians. Many hundreds from these parts had, on occasion of the treaty of peace,

visited at Bethlehem, and heard the gospel; and the *Nanticks* had renewed their friendship made with the Brethren in the year 1752, (§ 187.) and invited them to come to them. Many Indians in these parts were concerned about their salvation. In several places, teachers rose up among them, who, under the pretence of a revelation and mission from heaven, endeavoured to cultivate their heathenish religion in a better manner, and to lead their hearers, (for they gave public exhortations) on the path of virtue, to *the great Spirit*, as they call God. One chief means, to obtain this end, should be, to avoid all conversation with the white people, by whom they were led into all kinds of vices, especially by means of the sale of strong liquors; and for that reason to move quite away from them, and still deeper into the woods. The Heathen-teacher at Machwihilusung, *Papunbank*, had continued his exhortations with great zeal for many years: but both he and his hearers saw at length, that, amidst all their endeavours to practise virtue, they fell deeper and deeper into gross vices; and found no rest for their souls. Many came upon the thoughts that he could not be a true teacher; and he himself began to see, and to own, that he was himself not able to do what he taught them. They, therefore, met together, and prayed God to direct them, among the various parties in Pennsylvania, to people who could show them the right way of salvation. Papunbank was upon the point, in May 1763, of going, in this view, by way of Bethlehem, to Philadelphia, when *David Zeisberger*, on his above-mentioned visit on the Susquehanna, called upon them. They, receiving him as a man sent from God in answer to their prayers, directly called all the people together in their and other places, and desired him to show unto them the way of salvation. Almost all of them were convinced of the truth, and sent a message by him to
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the Brethren, requesting of them to send them a teacher. This could not be done immediately. However, in the month of June, when even a rumour was spread of the breaking out of a new Indian war, they were once more visited by David Zeisberger. At the same time, people of another persuasion, who had been invited by the Indians to preach in other places, came hither. At their proposal, Papunhank, at a great council of all the men, having given an ample detail of their condition hitherto, as related above, gave them for answer, that they had received the Brethren, as teachers sent from God in answer to their prayers, and that they desired no other. Zeisberger staid with them some days, preaching the gospel to them. He baptized Papunhank, naming him, *John*, and another, *Peter*. He visited and preached also in other places, till he received letters from Bethlehem, to hasten his return, lest he should be cut off by the hostile Indians.

§ 260.

THESE had, already in the month of May, 1763, murdered, on the lakes of Canada, and near *Pittsburg*, on the Ohio, many hundred persons, and now made incursions also into Pennsylvania. The New Englanders, who had settled at *Wajomik*, were fallen upon, and all, that could not save themselves by flight, were killed. The country-people took up arms, and put themselves in a posture of defence. Some fanatics took it into their heads, that this war was a divine chastisement, because they, like the Israelites, had not utterly destroyed all the Canaanites; and would now extirpate all the savages without distinction. Several Indians, who before had gone in and out among them in peace, were killed in different parts, which also befel a few of our baptized,

living in the dispersion. The savages sought revenge, and fell upon sundry places. These invasions were charged upon the Indians living at *Wechquatank*, by which they were exposed to the utmost danger, both from the savages, who looked upon them as spies, and were often scouting round about them, and from the white people, who, accusing them of the murders committed by the savages, threatened to root them out, and, accordingly, attempted several times to surprise them. The Brethren, therefore, were necessitated to fetch them away, and secure them at *Nazareth*, where they arrived safely on the 12th of October, 1763. Soon after, the news came, that their houses were laid in ashes.

Now the Brethren hoped that they should have rest. But, presently after, another attack of the savages was made upon a public-house, at some distance from *Nain*. All fled to *Bethlehem*, and were kindly received. Notwithstanding this, an Indian, *Renatus*, fell under the suspicion of having been one of the party; although the missionary and other Brethren had seen and conversed with him in his hut at *Nain*, at the very hour when the surprise happened, and the murder was committed.

This false report confirmed the enraged people in their suspicion, that the Brethren sided with the hostile Indians. The charges of their furnishing them with powder and ball, ran, like wild-fire, through the whole country. A mob assembled in different places, threatening to demolish *Bethlehem* and *Nazareth*, together with the Indians. The Brethren, therefore, were obliged to be upon their guard both against white people and Indians, and, in this danger, presented an address to the governor. The justice of the peace at *Bethlehem* was, with some other Brethren, summoned to *Philadelphia*, to answer to these charges. The falsehood of them soon appeared. But, in order to pacify the people, the Indian *Renatus*, who was accused upon oath of having
been

been present at the aforesaid assault, was fetched to Philadelphia, and imprisoned. For the same reason, by order of government, all the Indians at *Nain*, and those at *Wechqua-tank*, had their guns taken from them, and themselves were fetched away to Philadelphia, as being no longer safe at Bethlehem and Nazareth. Both on the road, and at Philadelphia, they were obliged to endure the most horrid and scurrilous abuses, and were at last placed in *Province-Island*, lying a few miles below the city, in the river *Delaware*. In the mean while, the charges against them and the Brethren were examined, and, according to the deposition of some savages, who were invited to the treaty of peace, found false. But government did not think proper to let the Indians return, as some fanatics insisted upon it, and stirred up the people to urge it, that all the Indians in the country, whether guilty or innocent of the murders, ought, as Canaanites, to be rooted out.

§ 261.

THAT this was no groundless fear, was soon after proved with horror and astonishment, when a number of peaceable Indians, who, since the first settlement of the country, had lived among the white people quietly and in peace, were surprised and murdered in their huts at *Canestoga*, in the month of December, 1763. Those that were absent, or escaped, the magistrates of *Lancaster* lodged in the prison of the town, for security. But the rioters forced their way into the town, and having broken open the prison, most inhumanly murdered, and cut to pieces in the greatest fury, those poor creatures, who begged their lives upon their knees, and then departed with horrid shouts of triumph; as it may be read at large in an *Account*, published at *Philadelphia*, of the bloody *Massacre*, lately committed in *Lancaster-County*, upon a *Number of Indians*, &c. A proclamation, issued by government, for the delivery of these rioters and murderers to condign

dign punishment, exasperated them the more. They marched in great multitudes against Philadelphia, to avenge themselves of this insult, and to obtain redress of some grievances. At the same time, they demanded that all the Indians taken into protection should be delivered up to them. The city was obliged to be put in a state of defence. The Indians were, in the night of the 14th of January, 1764, fetched away from *Province-Island*, in order to be conducted, through the Jerseys and New York government, to the general, Sir *William Johnson*, the king's authorised agent in Indian affairs, for greater safety. The missionary, *John Jacob Schmick*, with his wife, went with them, and, where they halted, held their usual meetings in the open air, and amidst the concourse of many people. But, upon their arrival, after a march of four days, at the borders of New York government, they were not suffered to pass, for fear, that the savages, being acquainted by these Indians of the cruel proceedings of the insurgents, and incensed to the utmost degree, should vent their rage upon the white people. Thus, after a troublesome march in the severest time of winter, they returned in three weeks to Philadelphia, and, to be more safe and better cared for, were quartered in the barracks. Here they were again, from the 4th to the 8th of February, 1764, in the greatest danger from the rioters, who encamped in great numbers not far from Philadelphia. The whole city was in alarm, and made more preparations for defence, especially about the barracks. The chief persons of the city even went to the Indians, and encouraged them. Some gentlemen were deputed to the rioters. These sent, with them, their delegates, to treat with government. Being mostly incensed against the Indians, they insisted upon seeing them one by one, in order to find out, whether any of them had been present at the murders they were charged with. But none was found.

§ 262.

AFTER this tumult was appeased, an attempt was again made to secure the Indians with the English army; since the enmity against them rather increased than abated, and even the news-papers were filled with false accusations against them and against the Brethren at Bethlehem, who, all that time, were in imminent danger. But in vain. They were, therefore, obliged to continue in the barracks; and the Indian Sisters too, that had lived for some years at Bethlehem, but were no longer safe there, as also some Indians out of the Jerseys and from Machwihilusing, who had committed themselves to the protection of government, were brought to them. The above-mentioned *John Papunbank* was chosen to carry a message of peace to the Indians; by whom our Indians, in order to dispose them the sooner for peace, gave them to understand, that they were all still alive, and well provided for.

They regulated their religious worship, which was attended by many people of the city, especially by the soldiers, for a real blessing to the souls of many, in as orderly a manner, as the circumstances permitted; and the missionaries, *John Jacob Schmick* and *Adam Grube*, who lived with them, had the joy to bring many of them, that were quartered there, to the knowledge of salvation, and to baptize them. But this confined way of life brought, in the summer of 1764, a fever and the small-pox among the Indians, of which some died almost every day, and sometimes four in a day; so, that fifty-six in the whole attained to the end of all distress, by means of this sickness.

With regard to the Indian *Renatus*, accused of, and imprisoned for, murder, he, after repeated examinations and charges sworn to anew, was at length brought to *Easton*, to take his trial. His enemies did all they could, to get sentence of death passed upon him, and every one believed there was no hope of his life, when, after a trial of a whole day,

day, he was, on the 21st of June, brought in, *Not Guilty*, by the jury, who had sat the whole night on the affair, and, accordingly, against all expectations, declared not guilty by the judge, and set at liberty. As the daily words had uncommonly suited the most dangerous circumstances of the Indian congregation; so, likewise, the word for this day suited the deliverance, not only of the accused, but of the whole Indian congregation, which, by his condemnation, would have been plunged into the utmost distress. It was, *God meant it unto good, to bring to pass, as it is this day, to save much people alive.* Gen. i. 20. It is evident, that, by means of *Renatus's* imprisonment, and the securing of all the Indians by government, which had the appearance of a state of captivity, the enraged populace were so long detained, in expectation of a legal condemnation, from their intended assault, till they were grown cool again. The fatherly kindness, with which government acted in this whole affair, will never be forgotten by our Brethren in America; the Indian congregation having even been maintained by government the whole time of their abode at Philadelphia, until, after the Indian war was ended, they could be dismissed with safety; as we shall hear in the following Part.

§ 263.

IN North Carolina, the Brethren, in the years 1760 and 1761, were often in greater danger, than they were aware of, in the war with the *Cherokees*, till the Indians, after a great battle, and the destruction of many of their towns, saw themselves necessitated, in the year 1762, to make peace. On this occasion they related, ‘ That they had very
 ‘ often come to the towns of the Brethren, (meaning the
 ‘ Brethren’s settlements) and, having heard that a very
 ‘ strong sort of men lived there, they had a mind, from a
 ‘ thirst of glory, to try their strength with them too. They
 ‘ often

‘ often came so near in the night, that they could look
 ‘ into their fortrefs (the palisades.) But, when they were
 ‘ on the point of attacking, they heard the sound of a
 ‘ kettle (the bell of the clock,) and directly many people
 ‘ (those who had the watch by night) had sounded an
 ‘ alarm, called to one another (cried the hour,) and struck
 ‘ up the war-song (an enlivening verse out of an evening
 ‘ hymn.) Thus they had been constantly deterred from an
 ‘ assault. They must needs be brave and terrible people,
 ‘ who were always thus on their guard.’ God has many
 thousand ways to deliver his own out of distress and danger;
 but he often does not even make it known to them, when he,
 by some invisible or visible angel and watch, removes far
 from them many afflictions raised by Satan. The Bre-
 thren were frequently so little aware of the danger which
 hovered over their heads, that they expressed themselves, in
 their accounts, at the end of the years 1761 and 1762,
 to this effect: “ Amidst all the troubles of war round about
 “ us, excepting the marching of the soldiers, we have been
 “ but little sensible of them, and even our contributions to
 “ the army arrived safely.”

They were more disturbed by the new Indian war in
Pennsylvania. For they were not only again obliged to re-
 ceive, and provide for, many fugitives from *Virginia*; but
 the very same accusations, laid to the charge of their Bre-
 thren in *Pennsylvania*, of sending powder and ball and other
 commodities to the savages, and receiving pay from the
 enemies of the English, were spread about among the people
 in *Carolina*, and provoked many against them; but could
 not here produce such hurtful effects.

Excepting some labourers, who came hither from Europe
 and *Pennsylvania*, the congregation was not much increased
 outwardly: but yet, many in the neighbourhood came to the
 preaching of the gospel. A Brother made a journey through
 North and South *Carolina*, and, in many places, where
 either the gospel never, or but seldom, had been preached,

found an opportunity of proclaiming it with blessing; and met with more friends of our Saviour and the Brethren, than could have been expected.

§ 264.

IN the Danish islands in the *West Indies*, the work of God among the *Negroes* proceeded in blessing, and increased from year to year. Generally, the number of baptized in one year, both in *St. Thomas* and in *St. Croix*, amounted to an hundred persons and upwards, and in *St. Jan*, to fifty or sixty. In all, there were about two thousand baptized in the three islands, besides the catechumens, who were twice as many. On great holidays, the hearers at a preaching in *St. Thomas* were commonly computed to be two thousand. The conspiracy, in the year 1759, mentioned in § 225, produced still the melancholy consequences in *St. Croix* of making some gentlemen afraid, lest the *Negroes*, by occasion of the evening meetings, (for by day they had no time for assembling) might meditate some new mischief; for which reason they prevented their attending the preaching. They thought to have found a new pretence for these measures, when, in the year 1760, four baptized, who, however, had long ago left the Brethren, were found among a band of seventy *Negroes*, who, on account of hard usage, were running away, and overtaken, having first thrown their wives and children into the sea, and then all, except eight persons, jumped in themselves. It was also very painful to the Brethren, when some *Negroes* from *St. Thomas*, being transported to *St. Croix*, were obliged to leave their wives and children behind, these belonging to other masters. For whereas, according to the principles of the Christian religion, they could not marry during the life of their wives or husbands, as the custom is among the unbaptized *Negroes*, it occasioned great disorder in their housekeeping, and gave room to many temptations. Nothing, however, was to be

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done,

done, but to exhort them to obedience to their masters, and faithfulness in *the acknowledging of the truth which is after godliness*, (Tit. i. 1.) and to pray for their preservation. Another distressing circumstance was, that, in the year 1760, all commerce being prohibited with the English colonies, on account of the war, such a scarcity succeeded a long-continued drought, that many Negroes died for hunger. The missionaries had but a scanty maintenance by the assistance of the Brethren in Europe, and did not let the Negroes on their own plantation suffer any want, and often distributed to the poor sufferers on other plantations; but could not relieve all, and were obliged, for the most part, to be satisfied with giving compassionate exhortations to reliance on the help of God.

Concerning the inward state of the mission, the Brethren in *St. Thomas* wrote, in the year 1762, as follows. “ By the preaching of the gospel, many a slave of sin has attained to the knowledge of his misery, and to the enjoyment of the grace in the blood of Jesus; on which account we are chearfully willing farther to devote soul and body to yield joy to Jesus, and to help to gather in the reward for the travail of his soul from among the Heathen. But we are obliged to conform ourselves very much to their circumstances, and almost always employ the night for their service. Our baptized become more deeply acquainted with themselves, and are more and more established. What neither law nor discipline is able to do, is effected in them by the word of the sufferings of Jesus. This, their masters are more and more sensible of, and are pleased when their Negroes go to our church. The young men have been increased this year to an hundred and forty, and enjoy the benefit of a particular care. The children too have their own meetings, and are visited, from time to time, all over the country. But, as they are very early employed in all kind of labour, they

“ they cannot be so well taken care of, as we could
 “ wish.”

The outward state of the mission, in the year 1763, was this. In *St. Thomas*, the Brethren had their Negro-church, dwelling-house, out-houses, Negro-huts, and a garden, the whole called, *New Herrnhut*, situate on the *Posaunenberg*, formerly so called. In the town, *Tappus*, they had a meeting-house for the sick and aged Negroes; and a married couple resided at *Krumbay*, in order to minister to the Negroes on that side of the island. The former chief missionary, *George Weber*, having served the mission above twenty years with blessing, was gone to Europe, in the year 1760, and had accepted a call to the Negro-mission in *Surinam*. He was succeeded by *David Hekkewaelder*, and, he soon departing this life, by *Martin Mak*, who had laboured many years among the Indians in North America. This missionary, with four married couples, and six single Brethren, did the manual labour for their support, and preached and held the meetings in four places on the island, and visited on all the plantations. In *St. Croix*, the Brethren had a small meeting-house for the Negroes, on the king's plantation, called, *Prinsefs*, and, in their own garden near the town, a Negro-church, dwelling-house, and burying-ground, which they called, *Friedensthal*. Two married couples and a single Brother lived there at that time. In *St. Jan* they had a large plantation, which, however, for want of Negroes, was but little cultivated; and, on it, their church and house, called, *Bethany*. Here only one married couple lived. The Brethren in *St. Croix* and *St. Jan* were, in a great measure, provided for from the plantation in *St. Thomas*, and at times, especially when sick, assisted too in the spiritual labour from thence.

§ 265.

IN the *English* islands in the *West Indies*, the labour in the mission among the Negroes made but a slow progress.

In *Jamaica*, indeed, most of the Negroes, who, on account of too strict treatment, had withdrawn, came again nearer, and many new ones came to hear the word of God. But yet, a few only were admitted to baptism during these years. In the year 1760, a rebellion broke out among the Negroes, and it cost no small trouble to quell it. None from the five places where the Brethren preached, were involved in it. They even were often in danger of being surprised by the rebels, till the latter were driven to such straits, that they took shelter in the woods and mountains. In the year 1763, some Brethren were sent from England and Pennsylvania to assist in this mission, and *Christian Henry Rauch* was released from his service in it by *George Profke*. But the latter departed this life soon after his arrival, and *Rauch* followed him in a short time also.

Of *Antigua* I find nothing farther to observe, than that the mission here proceeded but slowly, in stillness, and without any remarkable opposition; and that the missionary, *Samuel Isles*, having, in the year 1761, completed the building of a church, baptized thirty-six Negroes, and admitted the first-fruits to the holy communion, finished his course in the year 1764, and left the labour to the two Brethren, *John Bennet* and *William Lister*, whom he had procured from England to be his assistants.

§ 266.

THE good prospect of the mission in *South America* in a former period, was changed in this into a melancholy one. The frequent misfortunes, and the unsuccessful attempts to redress them, might easily have deterred the Brethren from

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proceeding

proceeding in the mission, had not the word of the Lord, and the experience of their Brethren in like cases, continually afforded them fresh encouragement. It has been mentioned in § 228, that the mission in *Berbice* had, on the 6th of October, 1760, lost their former worthy and faithful missionary *Schumann*, approved by various trials, after he had laboured in it with blessing for twelve years, baptized above four hundred Indians, and seen an hundred and twenty pass happily into eternity. The infectious sickness, which stripped nearly half the country of its inhabitants, and carried off many Indians also, was followed by a great famine, which forced many of the baptized to move farther into the country. The Heathenish Indians likewise were deterred, both by the famine, and the sickness which still continued, from coming near the Brethren. This, and other difficult circumstances, discouraged the Brethren, and caused some disharmony among them concerning the method of carrying on the work, after the decease of the missionary *Schumann*. But the ruin of this mission proceeded from quite another quarter, as we shall soon see.

The mission at *Sharon* in Surinam went on very well in the beginning, both inwardly and outwardly. Many of the scattered Indians, from *Berbice* and the *Corentyn*, gathered together there. But their rest was soon disturbed, when a number of Negroes, who had concealed themselves in the woods, and had discovered *Sharon*, attacked this place unexpectedly, murdered three Indians, and led away eleven prisoners. The Brethren saved themselves by flight; but one of them was shot through his arm with a ball, and another wounded in his forehead by an arrow. Some, indeed, by degrees, gathered again to the two Brethren, who still maintained the demolished post; but the frequent reports, spread by evil-minded Heathens, made them live in continual fear of a new attack of the Negroes and Savages, on which account they often dispersed again.

§ 267.

BEFORE this melancholy news reached Europe, *George Weber*, formerly a missionary in St. Thomas, *John Henry Millies*, hitherto a teacher in the pædagogium of the Brethren, and *Buboltz*, an inhabitant of Herrnhut, had made preparation for their departure to Surinam. The proper design of the first was, to make an attempt of settling a mission among the *Free Negroes*; the second was to learn the language of the Caribbees, and minister unto them in the gospel; and the third, to take upon him the house-keeping of the Brethren at *Paramaribo*, for the support of the mission. They were not deterred by the news of the destruction of *Sharon* from prosecuting their journey, and arrived safely in Surinam on the 21st of August 1761. They found the two Brethren left at *Sharon* sick. Near a whole year they had, one after the other, kept their beds, without nursing, and without any other food than cassabi and water. So much the greater was their joy, on account of the arrival of these new assistants. They took fresh courage, and unanimously resolved, to raise up anew the demolished buildings, on a spot not far distant from the former, where many Caribbees had settled again. But their company was again soon parted; for it pleased the Lord, to call home to himself, within the space of eight days, the Brethren *Millies* and *Buboltz*; and *George Weber*, who had the commission to direct all the missions in South America, and who, to this end, was gone on a visitation to *Berbice*, entered likewise, soon after his return, on the 6th of May, 1762, into the joy of his Lord. By this means, the execution of the plan of that mission was greatly impeded. Deeply as this intelligence afflicted the Brethren in Europe, yet many were found, who willingly and gladly offered themselves to supply the vacant places. Before the end of the year, some Brethren were dispatched to *Surinam*, accompanied by

Joachim Henry Andresen. After many painful vicissitudes, things now began to wear a more pleasing aspect among the Indians. They gathered, by degrees, out of their dispersion, and, giving no farther heed to the frightful reports, staid with the Brethren. But these, being but four, and often sick, found it very difficult to rebuild their habitations and plantations. They also lost, on a journey of the Indians to Paramaribo, all their boats at once in the sea; though all the Indians were saved. In the mean time, peace was concluded with the *Sarameca* Negroes, who desired of the government a missionary, and likewise requested the Brethren for one of them.

§ 268.

IN *Berbice*, after Schumann's departure, there were four Brethren left, and two were added to them from Europe. They endeavoured to collect again the scattered Indians, and to induce those, who could not stay with them, to remove to *Sharon*. But the account of the destruction of that place had deterred the Indians from moving thither. They rather went to the *Corentyn* and the *Mepenna*, where they were frequently visited by the two Brethren residing at *Ephraim*. Some chose rather to settle with them, than near the *Sarameca*; and this seemed more likely to become a gathering-place of the Indians, than *Sharon*; since many wild *Waraues* and *Calepina* also came to visit them. But the well-known rebellion of the Negroes in *Berbice*, in the month of February 1763, who murdered a great number of people, and ruined almost the whole country, before they could be reduced by the inhabitants of the adjoining colonies hastening to their relief, put an entire end to the mission in *Berbice*, and forced the Brethren to relinquish *Pilgerbut*. They staid still, for some weeks, in the neighbouring woods, and took some necessary things
out

out of their habitations away with them. The murders, committed by the Negroes, increasing, they, at last, were necessitated to remove to *Demerary*, leaving the buildings at *Pilgerhut* to the flames. The inhabitants of *Demerary* would gladly have kept them and their Indians; but most of the Brethren went to *Pennsilvania* and *Europe*; and the two that were left were advised from *Europe* to go with the Indians to *Surinam*. But before this advice reached them, both were departed this life.

The district round the *Corentyn* borders upon *Berbice*. The Indians in these parts, therefore, not thinking themselves safe from the rebels, fled farther into the country, and some of the baptized moved to *Sharon*; though they would not have been out of danger even there, if the *Sarameca* Negroes, who, at that time, had not yet made peace, had joined the rebels. The two Brethren at *Ephraim* waited the issue for some time. But the rebellion prevailing more and more, and spreading even to the district on the *Corentyn*, they retired, for safety, to *Paramaribo*. Their house was occupied by some soldiers; but these, after the rebellion was subdued, leaving it again, the Brethren took anew possession of it, though they could not yet live there for a constancy.

§ 269.

IN *Greenland*, the mission at *Lichtenfels*, by the kindness of their Brethren, received a spacious dwelling and meeting-house, and the number of the catechumens now began to increase more, than was expected at first. On this account, *John Bek* and his wife were sent to their assistance from *New Herrnhut*; and two Brethren came from *Europe*, in the year 1762, to fill the vacant places.

The increase of the *Greenland* congregations at both places in the knowledge of *Jesus Christ*, and in the experience and enjoyment of his grace, may best be learned

from their conversations and last hours, as also from the discourses of the Greenland helpers, both to their believing and heathenish countrymen, in the *History of Greenland*. Heretofore, excepting some detached diaries and letters, inserted in the *Buedingen-Collection*, which, however, soon was discontinued, nothing circumstantial had been published concerning any of the Heathen-missions. A resolution was first taken in the year 1759, while the late ordinary was still living, in order to gratify the great enquiry, to publish something, and to make the beginning with Greenland. This work was committed to me; but I could not go to Greenland before the year 1761, in order, on the spot, not only from written accounts, which are often defective, but from verbal relations also, and more especially by my own examination, to describe the beginning and progress, and the true inward and outward state of a work of God, the detached accounts of which had hitherto proved a very great blessing to many. I cannot describe, but shall never forget, what I often felt, during my stay, from August 1761 to September 1762, among the Greenlanders, with a view to collect proper materials, and, as an eye witness, to give some true account of the effects of the grace of God prevailing amongst them.

The Lord had also prepared many lively witnesses of this nation, who, on every occasion, declared to the Heathen, what he had done for their souls, and thus, as living examples, confirmed the testimony of the Brethren by an incontestable demonstration. The liveliest and most blessed of them all, *Daniel Ingoak*, departed this life, at New Herrnhut, in the year 1762; and, in 1763, *Frederic Boehnisch*, one of the first missionaries, who, since 1734, had served this mission with much faithfulness and blessing, having unweariedly endured, with the rest of the Brethren, all the hardships of the first years, was called into the joy of his Lord. During the thirty years of this difficult mission, where

where they are often exposed to the danger of losing their lives in cold, snow, and ice, and upon the turbulent sea, this was the first, and, to this day (1771), the only Brother, who finished his course in this country; while very many have fallen asleep in their labour in other, not only hot, but even more temperate, climates. Thanks be to the Preserver of our lives, *the Lord that healeth us*, who knows how to preserve his servants, and who continually raises up new, endued with the spirit of gladness, and ready to serve his will in the world in every place, and without exception!

THE
MODERN HISTORY
OF THE
BRETHREN.

PART X.

From the General Synod in 1764, to that in 1769.

§ 270.

AT the last synod, held in the year 1756, it was agreed to call together again, in about three years, the servants of the congregations to such a general church-assembly. But the war, in which almost all the countries where congregations of the Brethren are, and especially Germany, were involved, had rendered the execution of this design impracticable. Hence, even in the life-time of the late ordinary of the Brethren, it was resolved, not to hold the synod, till the war should be ended. In the mean time, his nearest colleagues had continued to carry on the affairs of the Unity of the Brethren, and formed an *Interim's Arrangement* for this end, till a synod could be held. This arrangement was to be revised at the synod, and confirmed, or altered, as circumstances should require.

During the war, many changes had occurred in the congregations. Some had been greatly increased. In *England*.
and

and *Ireland*, as also in *America*, new doors had been opened for preaching the gospel, and new congregations and societies were settled. The rebuilding of the demolished congregation-place, *Newsalz*, had been begun in the year 1763, (§ 251.) and wanted assistance. The Imperial court of *Russia* expected the resolution of the Brethren upon the Imperial edict, mentioned in § 253. The court of *Gotha*, after the renewed grant, (§ 252.) wished the enlargement of the congregation at *New Dietendorf*. It was also to be taken into consideration, what the issue might be with regard to *Herrnhaag*, which had been quite deserted since the year 1753; there being now some prospect of its being inhabited again. The œconomies of the Unity, likewise, required to be revised and regulated anew. Several missions among the Heathen, some of which had been begun in the life-time of the late ordinary, were now to be properly established. Of this number were, especially the mission in *Surinam*, in its four divisions, at *Paramaribo*, on the *Sarameca*, on the *Corentyn*, and among the *Free Negroes*; (§ 266.) the missions in *Antigoa* and *Barbadoes*, and the renewal of the mission to *Terra Labrador*, which had been attempted in the year 1752, but not succeeded.

To provide for all these things in a proper manner, appeared almost impossible, considering the outward state of the congregations of the Brethren after the war: and yet, they neither could, nor would, suffer the work to stand still, which God had begun by the means of the late ordinary, and approved as his own work by numberless demonstrations of his almighty power and goodness. Nor could they refrain, wherever the hand of God was plainly perceived in divers overtures and opportunities of spreading his kingdom, from venturing in faith upon it, lest they should be liable to the curse threatened upon them *that do the work of the Lord deceitfully*, (Jer. xlviii. 10. or, *slightfully*, according to the German,) and

and let their hands hang down through unbelief and despondency.

In this distress, the Brethren of the *Small Conference* (§ 238.) looked unto the Lord, and exhorted their fellow-labourers in all the congregations, to implore his help, and to entreat him, that he would counsel them according to his heart. The war being now ended, it was resolved to call together an assembly of the labourers and deputies from all the congregations of the Brethren. This synod was to be opened on the 1st of July, 1764, at *Marienborn*, in *Wetteravia*, and recommended to the prayers and blessing of all the congregations.

§ 271.

HAVING myself been present at this synod, I am able, as an eye-witness, to speak with the greater freedom of the matters treated of, and the sense of divine grace which prevailed at it. But an *Account* of it, which another member of this synod sent to a distant friend, comprising, according to truth, all the principal subjects, being put into my hands, which afforded me particular satisfaction, I will, instead of my own words, communicate the chief contents of it.

“ This synod was one of the most important assemblies, held by the church of the Brethren ever since its renewal ; and it was the first since the decease of the late ordinary.

“ Eleven bishops and co-bishops, seven civil seniors and conseniors, fifteen presbyters, twenty-four deacons of the church of the Brethren ; in all, ninety-four persons were present at this synod, among whom were above thirty deputies from the congregations.

“ This assembly began on the 1st day of July. They, first of all, fell down before our dear Lord and Saviour, imploring his presence, the gracious countenance of our heavenly Father, and the most special guidance of the Holy Ghost. A gracious *Amen* was felt in every heart ;

“ and it was very sensibly perceived that this prayer was
 “ kindly heard, during the whole synod, consisting of forty-
 “ four sessions, from the beginning to the conclusion of it,
 “ on the 29th of August.

“ The whole work of God, which he, in our days, had
 “ committed to his Unity of the Brethren, among Chris-
 “ tians and Heathens, in all its branches, in every coun-
 “ try, in the congregation-places, the colonies, and on
 “ posts among the Heathen, was taken into consideration
 “ before the Lord, the state of each carefully weighed, and
 “ his *Thoughts of Peace* concerning them searched after.

“ It was unanimously determined anew, that the *Doc-*
 “ *trine of the Merits of the Life and Sufferings of Jesus* shall
 “ be our only chief and fundamental knowledge, so, as it
 “ is revealed to us in the *Holy Scriptures of the Old and New*
 “ *Testament*, boldly avowed by the Protestant confessors in
 “ the *Augustan Confession*, experienced through his grace,
 “ and enjoyed in the remission of sins, by us, as well as
 “ many thousand other souls.

“ The *Doctrinal Articles of the Augustan Confession* were
 “ read at the synod, and heard by the whole assembly with
 “ assent of our hearts, and with an emotion of spirit, like
 “ that of the ancient confessors; and our adherence to it
 “ was again confirmed.

“ The doctrine and the writings of the Unity of the Bre-
 “ thren having been considered, and the books to be print-
 “ ed, or to be prepared for the press, agreed upon; the
 “ whole inward and outward constitution of the church of
 “ the Brethren was viewed before our Lord with all pos-
 “ sible care.

“ The congregations and their servants received whole-
 “ some admonitions, such as he once gave to the aposto-
 “ lic churches in the *Revelation of St. John*; which laid
 “ his servants in the dust before him. They were altoge-
 “ ther days of mercy, in which he made his people sensible
 “ of it, that

“ He

“ He fain would have us cleaner

“ In heart and in demeanor.

“ The fundamental thoughts of his heart concerning
 “ our household of grace, both in and out of our con-
 “ gregation-places, were renewed with clearness. I will
 “ communicate some of them, to the joy of my dear
 “ Brother.

“ A congregation of Jesus Christ is an assembly, consisting
 “ of living members of his body, of which he himself is the
 “ Head, which the Holy Ghost has gathered together, in
 “ which he himself governs, ordains, and appoints his serv-
 “ ants, and where every thing aims at each member’s be-
 “ ing prepared once to be *presented faultless before the presence*
 “ *of his glory with exceeding joy.* (Jude, verse 24.)

“ This does not exclude its being a school and an hos-
 “ pital of his patients, where patience is to be exercised to-
 “ wards many who must be saved by compassion.

“ God has, in our time, formed for himself a people,
 “ which is to withstand the spirit that is gone forth into the
 “ world, to turn the doctrine of the atonement of Jesus into
 “ a fable; and they are called to *show his death, till he come.*
 “ (1 Cor. xi. 26.)

“ Should this doctrine (which God forbid!) be every
 “ where extinguished; it must be preserved in a congrega-
 “ tion of Jesus, as a precious jewel; so, as formerly the
 “ holy scriptures were among the Jews. (Rom. iii. 2.)

“ By this it is perceived, whether a person really *is of us*,
 “ if the death of Jesus have taken root in his heart.

“ From hence also arises the call of a congregation
 “ of Jesus, to preach the gospel not only to Christians,
 “ but to all men, with a view of leading them to our
 “ Saviour.

“ As strenuously as a congregation must maintain the
 “ unlimited liberty of conscience of all its members; so
 “ great

“ great must also be their concern, sincerely to honour
 “ and love the government under which they live, and
 “ to approve themselves the most faithful and loyal
 “ subjects.

“ An essential point in a congregation of Jesus is like-
 “ wise, to have it solidly at heart, that they may execute
 “ *His Testament, John xvii: That they all may be one*; endea-
 “ vouring to establish and preserve *love* and *unity* among
 “ all the children of God upon the face of the earth,
 “ to avoid all religious disputes, and to love all that love
 “ Jesus.

“ A congregation of Christ is also honoured by its Master,
 “ with suffering reproach for the sake of his name, being
 “ and remaining a church under the cross.

“ He has, more particularly, opened to the congregations
 “ of the Brethren in our days, that part of the gospel,
 “ which directs them to derive the *sanctification* of spirit,
 “ soul and body, from the merits of his holy humanity,
 “ life, sufferings, and death, to understand it, and put it
 “ in practice. The separation of the sexes, according to
 “ the respective choirs, and the special care they enjoy,
 “ conduce greatly to promote this chief end of the
 “ Christian doctrine.

“ When the Holy Ghost, through the gospel, calls and
 “ unites souls out of our congregations, in order to prepare
 “ them to be a joy to our Saviour; we rejoice, and look
 “ upon them as a congregation of Jesus.

“ With respect to the heart, the uninterrupted enjoyment
 “ of salvation in the wounds of Jesus, and all things
 “ that pertain unto life and godliness, there ought to be
 “ no difference between such little flocks and our congre-
 “ gations.

“ They, as well as we, ought to preserve their souls and
 “ bodies for him; and, for that purpose, also carefully to
 “ avoid all unnecessary intercourse between the two sexes;
 “ not

“ not as though we thought there was a particular holiness
 “ in it, but from a consciousness of human corruption and
 “ sinfulness.

“ As to the outward *Constitution*, and the regulations,
 “ which our Saviour has given to the Brethren, for the par-
 “ ticular purpose of their dwelling together in congrega-
 “ tion-places by themselves; it is our fixed principle to
 “ give no occasion to the societies, united with us in the
 “ religions, to imitate them; but we exhort them to abide
 “ in their church-constitution, and be faithful to their
 “ religion.

“ A *Directory* was chosen and appointed, to have the
 “ care of the whole Unity of the Brethren in inward and
 “ outward matters; a *Board of Wardens*, to have the inspec-
 “ tion of the outward affairs of all the congregations; and
 “ a *Board of Syndics*, to see to it, that *all things be done decently*
 “ *and in order*, so, as the constitution and the good of the
 “ country, in which we live, require; and to stand forth,
 “ in all necessary cases, in behalf of the congregations.

“ The office of *Advocate of the Brethren* was again sup-
 “ plied in the person of count *Henry XXVIII. Reufs*, who
 “ was before deputy advocate.

“ *Deacons* were nominated, to have the care of the *Heathen-*
 “ *missions*; and, in like manner, other *Deacons*, to provide
 “ for the *Education of the Youth* in the œconomies of the
 “ Unity, who, in childlike dependence upon the hand of
 “ our heavenly Father, should receive, and expend with all
 “ faithfulness, for the service of these works of God, the
 “ contributions of our Brethren and Friends who gladly
 “ lend their assistance towards them.

“ All care and consideration was taken in supplying the
 “ offices in every congregation with proper persons.

“ Two Brethren were nominated for the *Administration*
 “ of the *Lutheran and Reformed Tropuses*; (§ 122.) each of
 “ whom, with some assistants, is to keep up a friendly
 “ connexion

“ connexion with the witnesses of Jesus in his religion, and
 “ to have an eye to the service of the souls gathered here and
 “ there, through the gospel, to Jesus Christ.

“ To conclude, dear Brother, I can wish you nothing
 “ more happy than such a view of our dear Lord’s kind and
 “ gracious countenance, as he, at the conclusion of the
 “ synod, on the 29th of August, granted to the whole
 “ assembly, at the holy communion. He realized the word
 “ for the day, *I am Joseph, your Brother*, (Gen. xiv. 4.)
 “ in such a manner, that our hearts and eyes flowed over
 “ with tears of joy.”

§ 272.

THE result of the synod was communicated in every congregation, not only to the labourers, but to all grown communicants. The testimony of the powerful demonstrations of the gracious presence of the Head and Lord of the church, at the synod, awakened in all, that heard the result, an inward cordial joy; and the ingenuous confession of the defects observed in the congregations and their servants, pressed tears from their eyes. This produced in many members of the congregations the happy effect, that they also examined their hearts, considering in stillness, and conversing with their labourers and intimate friends, about the proper aim of their being called by the Holy Ghost, and gathered to a congregation; whether they had remained in the path of simplicity, or had left their first love and devotedness of heart. They agreed anew to lay aside every thing contrary to the mind of Christ, and to walk, according to the rule of holy writ, as his true disciples and followers. At the same time, the peace of God extended itself over the congregations, and gave them a powerful sense, that the Lord approved himself to his members as the Head, and delighted to continue walking among them, accomplishing
 the

the thoughts of peace he had in bringing them together in this time of grace.

Moreover, the Lord gave grace, that, since this synod, the forgiveness of sins in the blood of Jesus, the truth as it is in Christ Jesus, the true sanctification and preservation of soul and body, and the purity of conversation according to the mind of Christ, were urged at the meetings of the congregations, with renewed earnestness and energy, as well as with evangelical sincerity and meekness. It may be freely asserted, that the Holy Ghost has blessed it in a very powerful manner, for grounding the congregations more deeply upon Jesus, for radically curing many sick and weak, and even bringing back many that had erred and were deceived.

Another pleasing fruit of this synod was, that all the congregations and their members agreed, notwithstanding all the diversity of their outward circumstances, to look upon themselves as *One Unity of Brethren*, as *one* family of God upon earth, as members of *one* body; to take share in all the blessings and burdens, in joy and sorrow, and, according to the ability which God gives, to lend an helping hand in love.

At the same time, the spirit of the witnesses was stirred up anew. Almost from every congregation letters came to hand from Brethren, who, without waiting for a call, willingly offered themselves, nay, heartily intreated, to be employed in the service of our Saviour, especially among the Heathen. Some named the nation, among which they wished to serve him; others left the appointment of the place and manner of service to the servants of the church. The ground of this impulse, and the capacity of such free-willing people, having been examined into; they were looked upon as candidates for the service of the Lord, and, after the manner of the ancient church of the Brethren, accepted *Acoluths*. But they continued in their usual employments,

ments, till they were, from time to time, appointed to the work. (See *Ancient Hist.* § 37. *Modern Hist.* § 125.)

§ 273.

THE synod, that is, the assembly of the labourers and deputies from all the congregations, which represents the Unity, and consults the welfare of the congregations and their members, had, according to § 271, committed to some Brethren, under the name of *The Directory*, the general inspection, and care of the affairs of the church. They resided first at *Herrnhut*; where the two other boards also fixed their abode till the next synod. But the directory held several visitations in the German congregations; and one of their number, *David Nitschmann*, junior, went, in this view, to *North America*. *Leonhard Dober*, one of their fellow-members, entered into everlasting rest, in the spring of 1766. He was a faithful and approved servant of Jesus, who came to *Herrnhut* almost at the very beginning, and, being, as it were, grown up with the Brethren's cause, was the first missionary to the Heathen, and that in *St. Thomas*; then, for some years, elder of the congregations, and, since the year 1747, a bishop of the church of the Brethren. In autumn of the same year they left *Herrnhut*, staid for some weeks in the congregations in Saxony, *Niesky*, *Klein Welke*, and *Barby*, and resided mostly at *Zeist*, till the next synod. From *Zeist*, in the year 1766, and again in 1767, one of their number, *Peter Boehler*, went on a visitation to *England* and *Ireland*. In the year 1768, these Brethren were three months in *England*, partly in the congregations in *Yorkshire*, partly in *Lindsey House*, near *London*; the other congregations in *England* being, in the mean while, visited by some of the members.

§ 274.

A CHIEF concern of these Brethren was, *to keep the unity of the spirit* in all the congregations, and to take care, that they all, though they, as to their outward situation, were ever so different and remote from each other in the islands and wildernesses of the Heathen, might go on an equal pace in the knowledge of the saving truth, and not be strangers to one another, or unacquainted with the inward and outward circumstances of other congregations. This end was promoted by the correspondence, the communication of edifying discourses, and of the accounts from all the congregations, and the printing of necessary and useful books. The care of all these things was committed to the direction of the Unity, agreeable to a rule of the ancient church of the Brethren, which permitted nothing to be printed, and communicated for the use of others, which had not been revised and approved of by some bishops.

Of the writings, which, after the synod of 1764, appeared in print, I will, besides the yearly *Collection of Daily Words and Doctrinal Texts*, only mention the following :

Gottfried Clemens printed *Extracts* (in German) of the *Discourses of the late Ordinary of the Brethren upon the Five Books of Moses*. (§ 242.) These having been completed in three volumes in 8vo, he proceeded with the *Discourses upon the Four Evangelists*.

In the year 1765 appeared *The History of Greenland: containing a Description of the Country and its Inhabitants; and particularly a Relation of the Mission, carried on for above these thirty Years by the Unitas Fratrum, at New Herrnhut and Lichtenfels in that Country*. This work, which has since been translated into *Low-Dutch, English, and Swedish*, was so kindly received by the public, that, even in the year 1768, a new German edition of it, though the first was pretty large, was found necessary to be printed. At the same time, a

Continuation of the History of Greenland, &c. containing an *Account of the Mission from 1763 to 1768, together with considerable Additions and Remarks relative to the natural History*, was prepared for the press, and published in German, in the year 1770. Modesty, and the brevity of this History, do not allow me to add any thing concerning the manifold blessing produced by means of the mere historical relation of the effects of the grace of God upon these savage and stupid Heathens.

The Doctrinal Articles of the Augustan Confession were printed, in the year 1765, in German, for the use of the congregations of the Brethren, and especially of the children, and distributed among the latter, as a New year's gift for 1766.

In 1765 was also printed, *The Days of the Son of Man; or, The History of the Sufferings of Jesus, according to the Harmony of the Four Evangelists*.

The same was published, in the year 1766, in *French*; as also an *Hymn-Book* in that language.

Likewise, a new edition of, *Count Lewis of Zinzendorf's German Poems*, appeared in print in 1766.

Also the second edition of, *The Ordinary of the Brethren's Discourses delivered to the Parishioners of Bertholdsdorf*, (§ 203.) was printed this year. The same discourses were published in the *Vandal* language.

Moreover, a small *Creole Hymn-Book* was printed for the use of the *Negro-Congregations*.

In the year 1767, *A Collection of choice Verses* came out of the press, being the *Third Part of the small (German) Hymn-Book of the Brethren*, which was published in 1763. (§ 242.)

In 1768, *Sundry Discourses of the Ordinary of the Brethren, delivered mostly on his Journeys, in the Year 1757*, (§ 211.) were printed.

In the year 1769 was published, *The History of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, compiled out of the Four Evangelists*, by

Samuel Liberkuehn, M. A. This History has been since compiled and printed in *English*, with the title, *The Harmony of the Four Gospels, or, The History of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, &c.

Moreover, *Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg* was commissioned by the synod to write the *Memoirs of the Life of the late Ordinary of the Brethren**.

§ 275.

It was resolved at the synod to make an alteration in a part of the *Children's Oeconomies*. In consequence of this, the œconomy of the smaller boys at *Groß Hennersdorf* was divided into the congregations at *Herrnhut*, *Niesky*, and *Gnad-nberg*. By this means, they themselves had more opportunities of attending the congregation-meetings, and, at the same time, the schools of these places were helped. In the building which they inhabited at *Groß Hennersdorf*, an œconomy was begun for girls and single Sisters; the occasion of which was the following.

Several single women, in the neighbourhood and at a distance, had, for many years, desired to live in congregation-places, and in the choir-houses of the single Sisters; and many parents wished that their daughters might be brought up in the œconomies of the Brethren. But since this could not be done for want of room; here was found an expedient. Girls, that could not come into the œconomies of the congregations, were received into this house, and provided with Sisters who had the inspection over them, and with school-mistresses, who instructed them in all sorts of useful female work. Various employments were provided for the single women, especially in linen and cotton. This œconomy was begun in the year 1765, and, by divine blessing, soon

* These *Memoirs* have since been printed in Germany in eight volumes in octavo. (The Editor.)

remarkably

remarkably increased. The persons belonging to it keep in all points to the parish-church at *Groß Hennerdorf*; at the same time improving their connexion with *Herrnhut* for a blessing to their souls, as much as their circumstances allow; and are a joy to their parish-minister, and an edification to the inhabitants, and to the neighbours.

I will here only farther mention, that, during these years, the work of God among the friends of the congregation, who live dispersed, and at a distance from the place-congregations, though under various pressures in some places, not only proceeded with blessing in all parts, but in several increased, to the real advantage of both the Protestant churches.

§ 276.

THE inward state of the congregations has been treated of in § 272. As to the outward, they enjoyed all desirable rest, under the gracious protection of the sovereigns of the countries in which they lived. Although various calumnies were not wanting here and there; yet the sovereigns and their ministers, being convinced of the contrary, either gave no ear to them; or, such things were quickly put a stop to, and remedied by due representations of the truth.

The good character of the Brethren was more and more acknowledged, and their behaviour in all their dealings caused such an esteem for them, as made many Brethren apprehensive, lest it might rise beyond the standard of the cross's kingdom of Christ upon earth; and lest, here and there, a love of the praise of men might insinuate itself, and means be used, by an unseasonable compliance, or even conformity to the world, to please it still more. This was one chief caution given at the synod; and the labourers were frequently admonished to guard against this evil, especially in those place-congregations, which are used almost daily to have many visits, and often of persons of high rank.

The outward support was attended, in the congregations of the Brethren, as every where, amidst the universal want of money and stagnation of trade and commerce, with greater difficulties than before, nay, than during the time of war, and some places were reduced to great straits. But, upon the whole, the Lord blessed the industry and faithfulness of the Brethren in handicraft-busineses, so, as to enable them to show actual compassion with the wants of their Brethren and other necessitous neighbours.

§ 277.

I WILL here only still take notice of some particular occurrences. The congregations in *Saxony* took a great share in the joy of the whole country, when, in the year 1768, their sovereign, elector *Frederic Augustus*, took the reins of government into his hands, and on the 8th of October, after the thanksgiving-sermon upon the text appointed, 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2, implored for him grace and wisdom from above, in order that his government might be blessed in all respects, and they *lead*, under him, as they had done under his predecessors, *a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty*.

The congregation at *Herrnhut* was, on the 30th of June 1766, honoured and rejoiced with a most gracious visit of the emperor, *Joseph II.* on his way from *Saxony* to *Bohemia*. His Imperial majesty was pleased to take a view of the choir-houses, œconomies, manufactories, and several handicraft-busineses, to be present at the usual congregation-meeting, and take a night's lodging at *Herrnhut*. He enquired of the Brethren, and in particular of count *Henry XXVIII. Reuss*, very minutely into all the inward and outward regulations of the congregation, and signified his satisfaction at what he saw and heard; and, after some years, was pleased to take notice of it again to count *Henry* at

Prague

Prague in the most gracious terms. The condescension he showed to every one, left a deep impression upon the Brethren.

Niesky and *Klein Welke* increased in the number of inhabitants, and built more houses.

A new proof of the favourable disposition of the electoral court and ministry of Saxony was, in the year 1765, the renewal of the lease of *Barby*; to which was joined an hereditary lease of the palace at *Barby* and the manor of *Dæben*, to count *Henry XXV. Reufs*, with a view of erecting a settlement there, after the manner of other congregation-places of the Brethren; of which the beginning was made, not far from *Dæben*, on the 17th of June, 1767. This new place was called, *Gnadau*.

The *Silesian* congregations lost, in the year 1766, in the person of *Ernest Julius de Seidlitz*, a man, whom God had made use of from the beginning in erecting and superintending these congregations. He had, since the year 1726, been united in love with the late ordinary, to carry on the work of God. He took charge of the awakened in the neighbourhood of his estates, who, for the most part, were of Bohemian extraction; and received the Moravian emigrants. Having bought the estate of *Upper Peilau*, on which *Gnadenfrey* now stands, he preached the gospel in his mansion-house, which was attended by many hundreds. On this account he was imprisoned in the year 1738. (§ 110.) After his release, in the year 1743, the building of *Gnadenfrey* was begun under his direction and patronage. This congregation was now grown so large, that the spacious hall could no longer contain the number of hearers coming to the preaching of the gospel. A larger hall was built in the year 1768, which was quite filled at the very opening. The congregation at *Gnadenberg*, likewise, notwithstanding all the difficulties respecting trade, increased in

inhabitants and buildings. The congregation at *Newsalz* was built amidst great poverty, and their new church was finished in the year 1769.

The *Bohemian* congregations at *Berlin* and *Rueksdorf* lost, in a short time after one another, three of the few labourers, who were able to minister unto them in their own language; since very few of their members understand German: and it was difficult to supply their places.

At *Ebersdorf*, notwithstanding their straitened circumstances, which were occasioned, partly, by the war, and partly, by the obstruction of commerce in the adjacent countries, the building still went on, and the place was brought into better order.

New Dietendorf, since the grant of the sovereign, remarkably increased in inhabitants and buildings; insomuch, that they were obliged to think of enlarging their meeting-hall. They were visited by their gracious sovereign, and by many persons of distinction from far and near, with complacency.

At *Marienborn* the few persons remaining proved still a real blessing to those parts. The preaching of the gospel on holidays was generally attended by above an hundred awakened from the adjacent parts.

There was also some prospect, about this time, of the restitution of *Herrnhaag*. Even in the year 1762, the count of *Buedingen* had given the Brethren at *Marienborn* plainly to understand, that he should be glad to see this place inhabited again by the Brethren, and was inclined to take every step possible to render it easy to them. They likewise entered into a treaty about it, which was indeed broken off at that time, but earnestly renewed in the year 1766. For this purpose, at the desire of the count, two deputies were sent thither. By the mediation of a truly worthy counsellor,
well-

well-known in the learned world, the affair was nearly brought to a conclusion. But, it being deferred from time to time, the then reigning count, *Gustavus Frederic*, departed this life, before it could be completed. Since that time, all appearance of inhabiting this place again has vanished.

New Wied was built more and more, to the satisfaction of its kind sovereign, and was a good favour to the neighbours. Many eminent persons, even electors and princes, were pleased to visit this establishment of the Brethren, and to take notice of the inward and outward constitution.

At *Zeist*, the preaching of the gospel, in Dutch and German, was attended by many strangers. Among them were some ambassadors, Polish grandees, English lords, and other gentlemen, whose good testimony was of use to the Brethren in other countries and circumstances. The place also increased gradually in inhabitants and buildings. A more spacious meeting-hall was built, and opened on the 20th of October, 1768; divine worship having before been performed, not without inconvenience, in the hall of the mansion-house. The Brethren presented, in the year 1766, a congratulatory address to the prince of *Orange*, hereditary stattholder of the United Provinces, on his being of age, which was very graciously received; and on the 7th of June, 1768, he, and her Royal highness, his consort, honoured this place with their visit, attended the usual meeting, made enquiry after several circumstances, and declared their satisfaction. The same honour was done to this place on the 28th of June, the same year, by his majesty, the king of *Denmark*, *Christian VII*, with his retinue. He took a view of all the regulations and institutions, was present at the divine service of the Brethren, and was very gracious. The Brethren embraced this opportunity to recommend, not only to his ministers, but to the king himself, the missions among the Heathen in his dominions, in *Greenland*, and the *East and West Indies*, for his Royal favour, protection and furtherance.

§ 278.

WITH respect to the congregations in *England*, the visitation committed to *Peter Boehler*, mentioned in § 273, and the provincial synod held at *Fulneck*, in the month of August 1766, as also the visit of the other members of the directory in the year 1768, proved a blessing to many. They enjoyed peace and rest from without. Notwithstanding the dearth of provisions and the slackness of trade, yet, by divine blessing, they, at the end of every year, had reason to praise the Lord.

New awakenings appeared here and there. The Brethren were invited to preach in some new places. A Brother made a blessed journey to the Western counties, as far as *Cornwall*. New chapels were built at *Plymouth* and *Northampton*. But no new congregation-regulations were made, except in the city of *Bath*, in the year 1766; as, since the synod, the method of settling societies, which remain wholly in their religion, was adopted, rather than the regulating new congregations, according to the constitution of the Brethren.

There was a great emotion in the principality of *Wales*. In the year 1768, a Brother made a journey through the whole country, and found in many places eager hearers, to whom he preached the gospel. The Brethren at *Haverfordwest* had an opportunity of preaching to many hundreds, in sundry places in their neighbourhood.

Neither were persons wanting in these congregations, who offered themselves for the service of the Lord among the Heathen; and some were chosen for that purpose, especially for the English colonies.

In *Ireland* a congregation was settled at *Cootbill*, in the year 1765, by the bishop, *John Gambold*. The new congregation-place *Gracehill*, on *Ballykennedy-Land*, after the building of a congregation-house, and the dedication of the chapel, in the year 1765, made a great progress. In 1765, the

the single Sisters built a separate dwelling-house. In 1767, the single Brethren built a choir-house, and turned their former habitations into workshops : and sundry families from those parts settled there.

In every country-congregation in the *North of Ireland*, some single Brethren agreed to live together, to carry on their business, which mostly consists in weaving linen, and to cultivate a piece of land. The single Sisters did the same on their part.

The improvement of the land, made by their industry, was taken notice of by many gentlemen. On this account, new offers for settlements were not wanting. Wherever the Brethren were too closely confined, or possessed their land, and the houses and chapels upon it, on too short leases, which could not be renewed but with great expences, they accepted of these offers. Thus, in the year 1767, a piece of land, of about an hundred English acres, was taken at *Ballimaquighan*, near *Lisnamara*, on *Logh Neagh*, upon a perpetual lease ; and the Brethren living thereabouts made preparation for settling there, after the manner of a congregation-place.

We have already observed, that the congregations in the North of Ireland, for the most part, consist of very poor people. It may, therefore, be easily imagined, that they met with great difficulties in these hard times. But yet, the Father in heaven supported them ; and none had occasion to complain of real want. They had rest, were edified, and increased : only the congregation at *Ballinderry* was, for some months, especially in October and November 1768, molested by some enraged neighbours.

§ 279.

As early as the year 1734, the Brethren had been invited to *Scotland*, and a student of divinity, *Jacob Frederic Hesse*, had been sent to *Edinburgh*, (§ 106.) whose abode there was

was not without blessing. The duke of *Argyle*, one of the chief representatives of the Scotch peers in the parliament of Great Britain, had, by occasion of the examination in parliament in the year 1749, invited the Brethren to make a settlement upon his estates in Scotland. (§ 152.) Two Brethren had already taken a view of them. But the Brethren having too many engagements in other places, this affair was dropped.

In the year 1765, God raised up a Brother in the North of Ireland, *John Caldwell*, who ventured to go to Scotland, and make a trial whether he might find entrance there. He went to the shire of *Air*, and began to give a few words of exhortation to the people, who received him, at their usual morning and evening prayers. Immediately, some neighbours assembled to hear him too. They did, like the *Bereans*, (Acts xvii. 11.) *searching the Scriptures* and the ancient books of their church. They found, and declared to others with joy, that he preached the same doctrine of the gospel contained in them, but for some time neglected by many of their teachers. In a few days they fitted up a great malt-kiln for him to preach in. But it was too small the very first time, and he found himself necessitated, by the number of hearers, to preach in the fields. People of other places invited him to come to them also. In less than four weeks he had above a thousand hearers, among whom were even ministers and magistrates. Some of the elders of the church attempted to hinder him: but the ministers would not consent to it, giving this reason, that God had sent this man to restore the decayed state of Christianity, and the old genuine doctrine of Jesus. In places where the people were threatened with excommunication, to deter them, the ministers gave it as their opinion, that, in order not to lose them entirely, they ought to be left at liberty to enjoy that by which their souls were benefited. In less than half a year, John Caldwell had to preach in twenty-seven places.

It was not to be expected that this great number of hearers, many of whom were, probably, drawn by the novelty of the thing, should all receive an abiding blessing. Many soon drew back. Yet in some places there was a prospect of an abiding fruit produced by the preaching of the gospel. The above-mentioned Brother having obtained a married couple to be his assistants, the awakened in several places were formed into societies. The work of the Lord still goes on with blessing there. New assistants also went thither, Brother Caldwell having received a call, in the service of the Lord, to *Plymouth and Cornwall*.

§ 280.

BEFORE we turn from England to America, and take a survey of the congregations and Heathen-missions in that part of the world, I will still mention, that, in the year 1766, the *Brethren's Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen*, formed, in the year 1741, by some English Brethren, (§ 106.) but afterwards dropped, was revived at *London*, with a particular spirit of gladness, and better regulated, during the abode of the directory in England, in the year 1768.

I will relate the occasion and design of this Society, from an *Account*, printed in *England*, which one of the members gave of it to an English gentleman.

“ The Brethren's church having had invitations to preach
 “ the gospel to the Heathen in some parts of the British
 “ America, some members of that church came to *London*,
 “ in their way thither. Being unacquainted with the lan-
 “ guage, and quite unknown here, and, for want of some
 “ friendly care and recommendation to the captains of the
 “ ships they went with, and to some friends in the countries
 “ they went to; they met with many difficulties. Neither
 “ were they abounding in this world's goods; but had a
 “ truly

“ truly apostolical trust in God, that he would know how
 “ to bring them to the places they were going to. As they
 “ had little experience in the price of freight, and the
 “ charges of long voyages, they were not always sufficient-
 “ ly provided, *a priori*, with the money necessary to such
 “ purposes.

“ Some persons at *London*, with whom they had pro-
 “ videntially become acquainted, took their circumstances
 “ into consideration, and wished to know how to act in
 “ the best manner to assist those whom they saw venturing
 “ their lives and health, in order to bring the Heathen to
 “ the knowledge of Jesus Christ, for the salvation of their
 “ immortal souls.

“ I must tell you, my dear friend, that the very sight of
 “ these truly apostolical men, and their zeal for the con-
 “ version of the Heathen, not in a presumptuous or vain
 “ spirit, or Pharisaical affectation, but full of a humane,
 “ chearful, humble behaviour, was so edifying to us, that
 “ it made us wish most zealously to take that share in their
 “ undertaking, which we thought might be possible for us
 “ here to execute, and properly to *further* them on their
 “ way ; and thence we took the name of, *The Society for the*
 “ *Furtherance of the Gospel*.——

“ ——We saw these men willing to carry the gospel, in
 “ person, to the Heathen, at all hazards, out of love for
 “ Jesus Christ, a desire to fulfil his will, and a tender con-
 “ cern for the salvation of the Heathen.——

“ ——Although we, for our persons, thought we had
 “ not, or perhaps never might have, the same call with
 “ them, to go and preach to the Heathen in person ; yet
 “ ——we had, in general, the very same inducement, which
 “ they had, to be helpful in our respective stations and
 “ callings to the furthering of that work.——We must
 “ own, that, at times, we have felt at our meetings a
 “ strong impulse to take personal share in their missions :

“ and

“ and some of us have been blessed with such a call now and then.—

“ We were at first but a few,—who resolved to form ourselves into a society, towards the designs of which, each member might contribute, statedly or occasionally, each according to his ability, without pressing one another to enlarge the contribution; as we believed, that our generous Saviour had no pleasure in constrained gifts, and that he likes only such as are given out of a free, willing heart. I can truly say, we wanted then more to restrain our members, as to the largeness of the sum, than to urge them to an increase of their contribution.—

“ We employed ourselves, therefore, as a society, in receiving and entertaining such missionaries as passed through London on their way to America, providing them proper lodgings, taking care to supply what might be wanting for their freight and provisions, and some necessary refreshments on their voyage, making the bargain for their passage, taking care of their letters, and doing their commissions.—These services were a great pleasure to ourselves; and it was a very great advantage to us, to see so many apostolical people amongst us.—They were much to our edification, strengthening and confirming our faith in Jesus Christ, not only by their words, but by their good example.

“ So we went on for several years. But, at last, the Brethren's church, the missions increasing, was obliged to appoint general deputies, who had the care of providing for their Heathen-missions in all parts of the world, (and, therefore, in the English colonies also.)—We are much obliged to them, and to all our congregations, for the plentiful contributions they have given, these many years, to the Heathen-missions in the British dominions, and doubt not of their kind continuance.—

“ But

“ But we have now desired, that our society here be
 “ revived for that branch of the Heathen-missions, in the
 “ British dominions.—

“ We find, every where, that the narration of the free-
 “ willing sufferings of Christ for the sins of the world, is
 “ received by the Heathen with attention, and, when indeed
 “ believed by them, changes their hearts and whole life,
 “ and shows plainly, that true faith cannot but produce
 “ good works and a proper behaviour, and that these
 “ Heathen-believers become happy in themselves, and very
 “ exemplary Christians. Of this we have several thousand
 “ instances among the divers nations of the *Indians* in North
 “ and South America, the *Greenlanders*, and the *Negroes*
 “ in the West India islands. They not only become happy
 “ for themselves, but, consequently, good neighbours, good
 “ subjects, and useful to society in general, and, the *Negroes*
 “ in particular, very faithful to their masters.”—

§ 281.

AT the same time, *A candid Declaration of the Church, known by the Name of, The Unitas Fratrum, relative to their Labour among the Heathen*, was printed in English; in which, after a short account of the church of the Brethren, and the occurrences in it, particularly with respect to the controversies and calumnies, by which injury was intended, it is said farther, as follows.

“ As these our antagonists were unwearied in their en-
 “ deavours to render the Brethren suspected every where,
 “ they went even so far as to tell the public in their writ-
 “ ings, that all that the Brethren had related occasionally
 “ of their labour among the Heathen, was nothing but
 “ vain boasting pretensions and fictions. But, when ocu-
 “ lar demonstration, and the evidences of the grace of God
 “ among the Heathen, confuted these calumnies in the most
 “ effectual

“ effectual manner, then our opponents had recourse to a
 “ new artifice, and began to represent the Brethren’s labour
 “ in one and another place, as tending to the prejudice
 “ of the public good.——

“ This method was used first abroad,” (in Germany and
 Holland,) “ and we were necessitated, in the year 1740, to
 “ publish a Declaration concerning our labour among the
 “ Heathen *.——

“ The most profound respect for the government, and
 “ esteem for the public, constrain us to publish, in Eng-
 “ lish, the same *Declaration*, which has spoken in our be-
 “ half, for twenty-seven years past, in the consciences,
 “ not only of the governors, but of every candid and im-
 “ partial person in the different countries abroad, where we
 “ are known and settled; and this Declaration has been the
 “ stronger evidence for us, as it has appeared that our
 “ practice and conduct is every where conformable to our
 “ words.

“ We are at present actually engaged in the ministry of
 “ the gospel among the *Indians* in *North America*, as also
 “ among the *Negroes* in *Jamaica*, *Antigua*, and *Barbadoes* † :
 “ and we must own, that we have been, for several years
 “ past, desirous to publish the gospel to the Heathen in se-
 “ veral other West India islands belonging to the English
 “ government. We also ventured, by the special encou-
 “ ragement of his Majesty’s *Board of Trade and Plantations*,
 “ to get amongst the *Esquimaux*, in *Terra Labrador*; and,
 “ as we are masters of their language, by means of our
 “ mission in *Greenland*, we are still willing to be serviceable to
 “ this very savage nation, to the best of our ability, by bring-
 “ ing the gospel of peace among them. Our missionaries at
 “ *Tranquebar*, on the coast of *Coromandel*, have, from thence,

* In the *Buedingen-Collection*, vol. i. p. 182; from whence a great part of this *Declaration* is taken.

† In this Declaration, the Heathen-missions in the *English* colonies are only mentioned.

“ visited some of the English settlements in the *East Indies* ;
 “ and have been kindly received and encouraged by persons of
 “ distinction there, to apply themselves to the conversion of
 “ the Heathen in those parts. Indeed, our general call
 “ to the service of the Heathen, does not allow us to be in
 “ any wise inattentive to any particular call of that kind.

“ We grant, that we cannot insure the success of our
 “ undertakings.——As we know that such attempts
 “ are attended with numberless difficulties, hinderances,
 “ and seeming impossibilities, especially at the first setting
 “ out, and are frequently made by unlearned men, and
 “ such instruments, whose appearance at first does not
 “ speak much in their favour, it cannot be expected that
 “ the progress always answers the most sanguine expectations ; yet, upon the whole, we find the greater reason
 “ to look with wonder and gratitude at the good and
 “ blessed issue, with which our good Lord has been graciously pleased to crown our undertakings hitherto, and
 “ which has been taken notice of by our superiors with
 “ much pleasure and satisfaction.

“ As our congregations are frequently excited to render
 “ unfeigned thanks and praise to our gracious Lord for the
 “ free access which he has granted us among the Heathen-
 “ nations ; so we are also thankful to the high and bene-
 “ volent promoters of this great work of God, and intreat
 “ God our Saviour, that he may graciously remember them
 “ for their kind assistance, and grant them an eternal blessing.

“ By this our public Declaration, we intreat, with the
 “ most sincere and Christian concern, our dear magistrates,
 “ yea, all our Fellow-Christians, for the Lord’s sake, to
 “ continue their kind patronage to the ministry of the
 “ gospel among the Heathen, to wish us success and blessing,
 “ and not to suffer any to interrupt our labours, or to
 “ lay impediments in the way of our missionaries, who,
 “ in

“ in the attempt itself, must always venture their lives.
“ That this our request may find the more ready reception,
“ and that every one, who is desirous to be as well ac-
“ quainted with our principles and practice herein, as we
“ are among ourselves; we will not decline to give the
“ public once more an opportunity of getting a more clear
“ insight into the nature of our labour among the Héathen,
“ by publishing the following concise points :

I. “ We never enter into controversy with any other de-
“ nomination; nor do we endeavour to draw their members
“ over to us.

II. “ Much less do we attempt to win over to our church
“ any of the Heathen who are already in connexion with
“ those of any other church ;

III. “ Or to stand in the way of the missionaries of any
“ other church.

IV. “ We are very attentive that the bond between the
“ government and the Heathen may not in the least suffer
“ by means of the evangelical tenets; for, should this ap-
“ pear unavoidable in any place, through the nature of
“ things, we should, in that case, rather chuse to retire
“ from thence.

V. “ We never attempt, by means of our missions, to
“ obtain the least influence in civil or commercial affairs;
“ but are contented with what we can earn by our own
“ industry in useful employments for our support, to the
“ satisfaction of the government.

VI. “ As to the rights of the sovereign and of the magi-
“ stracy, we require no farther insight into them, than to
“ know what is commanded, and what is prohibited, that
“ we may act conformably thereunto, as loyal and obedient
“ subjects. Least of all would we act out of any other
“ principle, than that of being, with our whole heart, sub-
“ ject to all magistrates who have the rule over us, and
“ gladly exert ourselves to the utmost to maintain the best

“ understanding between the government and the converted
 “ Heathen; yea, to be as instrumental as possible in esta-
 “ blishing the same good principles even among the uncon-
 “ verted.

VII. “ We carefully avoid intermeddling with any
 “ thing that can increase the wrong and prejudicial ideas,
 “ which the Heathen, savages, or slaves, have imbibed
 “ against the Christian religion.

VIII. “ We confess, and preach to the Heathen, *Jesus*
 “ *Christ, and him crucified*, as the Saviour of the world, be-
 “ cause *there is no other name under heaven given among men,*
 “ *whereby we can be saved, but the name of Jesus Christ;*
 “ and we seek, as far as in us lies, to keep them ignorant
 “ of the many divisions in Christendom: but, if they hap-
 “ pen to have been informed thereof by others, we endea-
 “ vour, with great precaution, to approve ourselves im-
 “ partial, speak of the several divisions with much tender-
 “ ness, and to extenuate, and not exaggerate, the dif-
 “ ferences; that thus the knowledge of the mystery of
 “ Christ may be increased, and misapprehensions dimi-
 “ nished.

IX. “ We endeavour to treat our opponents with love
 “ and heartiness, and to erase out of the minds of the
 “ Heathen all the thoughts they may have concerning the
 “ hardships and oppressions, under which our Brethren
 “ sometimes labour, and which often become almost in-
 “ supportable to the Heathen themselves.

X. “ But as to the main point itself, *The Conversion of*
 “ *the Heathen* to him, who has made an atonement for the
 “ whole world with his own blood; to him, to whom all
 “ the Christians must yield; we do not give way, no not
 “ in the least; but stand fast upon the *Foundation of the*
 “ *Apostles and Prophets*, and with faith and patience expect
 “ the constant aid and protection of our Lord and Saviour,
 “ according to his promise. We beseech all men to look
 “ unto

“ unto Jesus, the Apostle and High-Priest of our Profession;
 “ and cannot refrain from warning each, with all faithful-
 “ nefs, lest, by opposition, and trampling upon the seed of
 “ the glorious gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, he render
 “ himself unfortunate, and expose, to a divine judgment,
 “ himself and those who belong to him.”

§ 282.

THE establishment of a firm and lasting peace with the Indians in North America, in the year 1764, was a means of procuring rest for the congregations in *Pennsylvania* from that quarter. Though a new disturbance was raised by the murder committed upon an Indian, yet it was soon allayed. But the well-known commotions in all the English colonies, occasioned by the Stamp-act, in which the Brethren, however, took no part at all, caused them new distress. Patience and a prudent conduct were necessary in this case also; and the hand of the Lord, which they had perceived in so many dangers, was able to protect them.

In the year 1765, a co-bishop, *David Nitschmann*, (§ 80.) went on a visitation to the congregations in *North America*. At a provincial synod, held at *Bethlehem*, the result of the last synod was communicated, and the country-congregations in particular were encouraged to restore the good order and discipline, especially with respect to the education of the children and the youth, which, during the Indian war, had been, in some measure, neglected, and cautiously to guard against all party-spirit, in the intestine broils then prevailing.

Besides *Bethlehem* and *Nazareth*, and the places belonging to these congregations, there were now, in the provinces of *Pennsylvania*, *New York*, *New England*, *The Jerseys*, and *Maryland*, fifteen country-congregations, and five places more, where Brethren dwelt, preached the gospel, and took

care of the souls, exclusive of other parts, where the awakened were visited from time to time. More inward growth was perceptible; and they, by kind and comfortable exhortations, proved a blessing to many of their neighbours, at the close of their lives. New awakenings took place in the Jerseys and in New England. In several places which had been ministered unto by Brethren twenty years ago, they desired again, and received, labourers. At *Newport* in *Rhode Island*, where a new church was built, many sea-faring and mercantile people, passing to and from the West Indies, attended the preaching of the gospel. Children, whose parents did not belong to the Brethren, came to their schools, and caused a blessing among their relations by the fine scripture-texts and verses of hymns, which they learned at school and at the catechisations. Brother *Francis Boehler*, who resided at *Sichem*, and from thence ministered to the Indians still remaining at *Pachgatgoch*, had often many hearers from the white people. Some Germans, especially from the Palatinate and the duchy of Wuerttemberg, having settled at *Broadbay* in New England, several of whom had, even in Germany, been acquainted with the Brethren, sought to renew this acquaintance here. A Danish candidate for the ministry, *George Scelle*, preached the gospel to them; and not only these, but more places in New England, where people desired it, were at times visited from Bethlehem.

§ 283.

THE Brethren's colony in *Wachovia*, in North Carolina, was more augmented in this period, than in the former, both from Europe, and from Bethlehem and Nazareth. In the year 1766, they began to build a new place, which was called, *Salem*. The governor and other magistrates viewed the improvements of the settlements of the Brethren with particular satisfaction. Moreover, some friends of the Brethren

thren removed from other English colonies into their neighbourhood, to be under their care. The Brethren ministered unto them, as far as circumstances admitted. On occasion of a visit, which Brother *John Ettwein* made, in the year 1765, through North and South Carolina, as far as *Georgia*, they likewise became acquainted here and there with souls concerned for their salvation, especially among the Germans; some of whom had not heard the word of God for many years, and begged earnestly for preachers, or, however, to be frequently visited. In *Georgia*, still several friends were found, who had been acquainted with the Brethren thirty years ago, and now heartily wished, that the Brethren might settle there again. The country had rest from the savages, since they had removed to a greater distance from the borders.

§ 284.

THE peace in North America was restored by the *Iroquois*, or, Six Nations, who maintain the sovereignty over the Indians conquered by them in their parts. For, after the renewal of friendship between them and the English colonies, they compelled those, who had, these nine years past, been the authors of so much mischief, and had continually broken the peace afresh, to remove farther up the country into the woods.

This news was brought, in autumn of the year 1764, by the returning messengers, whom the Indian Brethren, in the barracks at *Philadelphia*, had dispatched to the *Susquehannah*, to seek out a dwelling-place. They, therefore, thanked the governor, in a written address, for the protection and support they had enjoyed, and desired liberty to depart; which took place in the spring of 1765, they being furnished by government with the necessary clothing and provisions. They went to *Nain*, near *Bethlehem*, and, after some stay, when the blankets, sent them by the

missions-diacony, were distributed among them, were accompanied to the *Susquehannab*. But being not yet out of danger, from some ill-disposed white people, they were obliged to make a great round, and to carry their things, through snow, morasses, and water, over high rocky hills, and through thick woods, to this river. Here they still found some Indian acquaintances, who helped them farther with canoes. Thus they reached the end of their journey, after five weeks.

Several of them having formerly lived at *Machwihilusng*, they, with the approbation of their missionaries, *David Zeisberger* and *John Jacob Schmick*, who accompanied them, fixed their abode here. They met with more acquaintances, living in the greatest misery and extreme want. Some also of the baptized, who had strayed hither during the war, joined them, and, by degrees, many strange Indians from those parts, who desired to hear the word of God, settled with them. These were of various nations, chiefly of the *Munfys*, *Delawares*, *Mahikanders*, *Nantikoks*, and *Wampanoos*. They, therefore, began here to erect a new town, and set about cultivating land, raising cattle, and hunting. But they solidly examined all the strangers who desired to live with them, concerning their view, explained to them their orders and regulations, and suffered such only to stay with them, as were desirous of hearing, and living agreeably to, the gospel. In the very first year they built upwards of thirty houses, mostly in the European manner, of blocks, and with chimneys, and a meeting-hall, calling this new place, *Friedenshuetten*.

But they were, directly in the beginning, affrighted by a message from the sachem, or chief, of the *Cajugers*, that they should not stay there, but move to them, farther up to the Lakes. This induced the missionary, *David Zeisberger*, with some deputies of the Indians, in the month of May 1766, to travel to the country of the *Cajugers*, and to ask leave of the council to stay in their place. The speech of

an Indian, in which he, in a clear and simple manner, but with manly eloquence, declared, before a full council, their conversion to God, and their intention to hear the gospel, and to serve God, had so good an effect, that they all praised their design, exhorting them to be obedient to their teachers; and not only gave them leave to remain in their place, with the assurance, that none should molest them in serving God in their own way; but allowed them the whole district of the length of two days journey round about them, for cultivation and hunting. Such a round and favourable declaration had never been obtained from the Six Nations. The same was confirmed by another message to the great council at *Onondago*, with the advice, that they, as a people in covenant with the Six Nations, should stay on the *Susquehannah*, and assist the necessitous Indians returning from the English provinces, and from the war with the *Cherokees*. This they did; and it was acknowledged with gratitude. From that time they continued in peace, and advanced in their buildings. More Indians came to them, from time to time; and such as came upon visits, both enemies and friends, and heard the gospel, spread it farther and farther.

§ 285.

WITH respect to the inward state of this mission, which now began to revive, it would require many sheets to describe the powerful emotions of grace perceived at the meetings among the Indians who had lately settled here, and their declarations and intreaties for holy baptism, often accompanied with many tears. I have scarcely observed a greater awakening in any of the missions of the Brethren; only with this difference, that the mission before us, in regard of the number, did not increase so much, when compared with others, because but few Indians were left in these parts. Those who were formerly baptized, some of whom were grown lukewarm and drowsy, were hereby put

to shame, and encouraged, not to be the last; and such, as had strayed for some years from the flock, and now saw, that these savages, some of whom had been thieves and murderers, sought and found grace with God, took fresh courage to seek again the grace they had forfeited, sought our Lord's pardon, and intreated, with many tears, to be readmitted to the congregation of the believers, which they also obtained in due time. The great change, which the pardon obtained wrought in these, and holy baptism in those who, till lately, were strangers to the gospel, discovered by their chearful and serene countenances, and by their denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, shone as a light to the rest of the savages, and made them desirous of knowing the way to attain to the same blessed state. Thus, more and more came to the preaching of the gospel; and, in some places, they desired and obtained teachers, as we shall see hereafter.

§ 286.

THE inward and outward situation of this congregation, in the year 1768, is described by their missionary, *John Jacob Schmick*, who, since 1752, faithfully held out with them amidst all vicissitudes and troubles, in his report of the year 1769, in the following words:

“ This small congregation, it is true, is still very defective; yet, upon the whole, we have sufficient reasons to rejoice heartily over most of them, and to praise God for their growth in the knowledge of themselves and the grace of Jesus Christ.

“ Great grace is perceived among the baptized; and some display witness-gifts and power, in recommending even to others the grace which they have experienced in their own hearts. Such are made use of as helpers in our conversations with the strange Indians.

“ Our Saviour has hitherto graciously blessed the daily morning and evening meetings, in which a text of scripture

“ ture is explained, and the preaching on Sundays and holidays. His spirit accompanies the testimony of his atonement with life in their hearts; and many have been gained by the power of the blood of Jesus, as a reward of his sufferings.

“ Sixteen of the sixty-two persons, who were baptized here within these four years, have been called home into eternal security.

“ We generally have the holy communion every six weeks, and the Sunday after, or on particular festival days, baptismal acts. The adults are previously well instructed. If they know, feel and own their unhappy condition, show a real desire after baptism, and believe that our Saviour shed his blood for the forgiveness of, and cleansing them from, their sins; and if the helpers out of their nation have no objection to them, they attain to holy baptism.

“ We proceed slowly with the admission of the Indians to the holy communion. Some have been admitted to it in one year, others two years after their baptism. Previously to it, we endeavour to give them a plain scriptural conception of this sacrament. Besides, particular regard is had to their having a real longing after it, and walking conformably to the gospel. The communicants examine themselves, according to the apostle's and our exhortation, and are strict with themselves. If any of them be in no good state of heart, or have no true freedom to partake, though there be no fault to be found with his life and conversation; he acquaints us with it, and voluntarily stays away for that time.

“ As to the education of the children, we send many sighs to our Saviour for the rising generation. The parents, indeed, take much pains with their children, speak to their hearts, and often pray with tears to our Saviour for the salvation of their souls. But the numerous visits of strangers with their wild children, whom they must,

“ as

“ as their friends and relations, take into their houses, and
 “ often entertain a long time, prove the occasion of much
 “ harm to our children. However, the visits of strangers,
 “ according to the hospitality always usual among the In-
 “ dians, are neither to be avoided, nor, for the sake of the
 “ blessing hoped for among them through the preaching
 “ of the gospel, to be hindered.

“ By the grace of God, we have, of late years, enjoyed
 “ rest and peace from without.

“ Hunting, and planting Indian corn, are the means of
 “ our livelihood. If either of these fail, there is a general
 “ want. Hunting even now produces but little; and, to
 “ get any thing by it, they are obliged to go a great way
 “ from hence. But we rely upon our Father in heaven,
 “ who knows what we stand in need of, and upon his bless-
 “ ing, on which all depends.”

§ 287.

AMONG the strange Indians, who resorted frequently from the adjacent parts to *Friedenshuetten* to hear the gospel, were also those from *Tschebschequanik*, about thirty miles higher up on the *Susquehannah*. Many of them were solidly awakened by the word of life. Some moved to the Indian congregation at *Friedenshuetten*, others were now and then visited by the missionaries and Indian Brethren. But they could not all remove to *Friedenshuetten*; because more inhabitants could not find a maintenance there. They, therefore, desired a teacher of their own. This desire they propounded in the way usual among them, when, in the year 1768, the Indian congregation was visited from Bethlehem. They received for answer, that their request would be considered at Bethlehem, and that they, on their part, should solicit the council of the Six Nations for leave to have a teacher living among them. They obtained this permission; and

and the council added an admonition, that they should follow their teacher. All the other Indians were warned to lay nothing in his way. In the mean while, their teacher, *John Rothe*, arrived, and opened the preaching of the gospel among them. Opposition was not wanting from the part of those Indians who were otherwise minded, and who still adhered to their Heathen-preachers and to the sorcerers. But many of them, angry at the conversion of their acquaintances, and their refusing to sin with them any longer, moved to other places; and other Indians came in their stead, who were inclined to hear the gospel. The preaching was accompanied with spirit and power, and, on Whitsunday 1769, the teacher had the joy to see the first-fruits from *Tschechschewanik* baptized by the missionary at *Friedenshuetten*.

§ 288.

MOST of the Indians, that formerly lived on the *Susquehannah*, had moved, during the last Indian war, to the *Ohio*, or, the *Alleghena*, which flows into the *Mississippi*. *David Zeisberger*, who, in the year 1763, had published the gospel to them, (§ 259.) was determined to seek them out again, and, in autumn of 1767, made a journey thither through the wilderness, in company with two Indian Brethren. Besides the natural difficulties necessarily attending the travelling through thick-grown woods, swamps and rivers, he was often detained by the savages, who made him give them an account of his design. After eighteen days, he reached the Indian town, *Goschgosching*, inhabited by the nation of the *Munfys*, or *Meniffing* Indians. Many of the latter had, in the year 1755, heard the gospel at *Lechawachnek* on the *Susquehannah*. (§ 181.) These received him with joy, and immediately called together all the Indians in the town and on their neighbouring plantations. *Zeisberger* preached a sermon,

mon, and his Indian companions continued conversing with them upon the subject till late at night. The following day he had several companies to speak with. An Heathen-teacher, living in the place, was also among them. He listened quietly, and enquired farther after the way of salvation, which he heard spoken of, and seemed to acquiesce in it. But it appeared afterwards, that it was all dissimulation, in order not to lose his credit at once among the Indians: for he endeavoured afterwards, first secretly, and then openly, to draw them aside.

These Indian teachers, who are, at the same time, their physicians and forcerers, have made their appearance but of late years. They pretend to have visions and divine revelations, exhort the Indians to virtue, and warn them against all intercourse with white people. They say, there are two ways to come to God, one for the white people, and another for the Indians. For, as God had formed the Indians differently, by giving them a brown colour; so it was his will, that they should come to him in another way than the white people. They would also, as here upon earth, have a different way of life in Heaven from their's. If the Indians behaved well, they should come into the first Heaven, where they would fare better than they did upon earth. After an hundred years, they should come into the second Heaven, where they would have better hunting, than even in the first: and after an hundred years more, they should come to God in the third Heaven, where every thing is in the greatest plenty. There, they might either stay for ever, or, after another hundred years, return again to this world, where they should make a great figure. But if they would go to Heaven, they must refrain from sin. They teach various means to get rid of it; for instance, to drink of certain herbs for some days together; or, to be beaten with twelve sticks from the soles of their feet to their necks; upon which, sin would pass out at their throats.

throats. They paint, on a sheet of paper, many figures of God, of men and beasts. They take this sheet with them into their assemblies, and explain the meaning of the figures. They prepare themselves for sorcery, in a painful manner, in a stove for sweating; and, when thoroughly heated, utter some words with frightful gestures, which are received as divine inspirations. The Indians have a notion, that the forcerers have certain secrets for poisoning air and water, by which they are able to bewitch, and dispatch out of the way, whole families, yea, all the inhabitants of a place, against whom they have conceived an enmity. On this account, they are greatly afraid of them, and cannot easily determine to break with them, though they see that they are deceived and misled.

The Indians at *Goschgosching*, having several times heard with much emotion the way of life, and conferred together about it, took the resolution in their council, which the Indian teacher also attended, to apply to the Brethren for a constant minister; and committed this request to Brother Zeisberger, who, after a farewell-sermon and prayer, accompanied with many tears of the Indians, returned, in the year 1767, by way of *Friedenshuetten* to Bethlehem, where he laid before the Brethren the state and desire of the Indians.

§ 289.

THE resolution taken upon this account, was, that *David Zeisberger*, with another Brother, and two or three Indian families of *Friedenshuetten*, who were willing, should fix their abode on the *Ohio*, with a view to begin a new mission. At the same time, peace was proclaimed between the Six Nations and the Cherokees, who had before greatly disquieted the parts on the *Ohio*, and on the frontiers of *Virginia* and *Carolina*. Thus, this hinderance also was removed. When Zeisberger, in company with *John Ettwein*, a labourer of Bethlehem,

Bethlehem, who was commissioned to visit the Indian congregation, came to *Friedenshuetten*, he found messengers from the Indians at *Goschgosching*, soliciting again for a teacher, with the assurance, that many Indians more of other places would join them. The messengers cheerfully set off, with the promise, that their minister would soon follow. On the 9th of May, 1768, Zeisberger, with three Indian families, who took all their goods and cattle with them, set out on his journey thither. They built together an house at *Goschgosching*; and some Indians, concerned about their salvation, as also several baptized, who had strayed hither, built near them. In the first three weeks, the concourse at the preachings was very great: but the Heathen-teachers, by their lies and calumnies, caused such uneasiness among the savages, that Zeisberger's and his Indians' lives were not safe, night or day, to the end of the year. They not only threatened to murder, or dispatch them by sorcery: but, when the Indians, as is often the case, danced and drank whole days and nights together, they were obliged to conceal themselves, for some days, in the woods, from the fury of the enraged and drunken savages. Thus, many Indians were deterred from attending the meetings of the Brethren, and having any connexion with them. Nevertheless, Zeisberger continued preaching, and his Indians talking with the Heathen, and many were very powerfully moved and convinced, who again came to the preaching, when things were more quiet.

But another difficulty arose. The Six Nations, who, in general, do not like it that the Indians move from the *Susquehannah* to the *Ohio*, had been informed, that all the Indians at *Friedenshuetten* intended to leave the place, and to repair to the *Ohio*. They were, therefore, commanded to stay there, and to order those, who were gone away, to return. In order to clear up the whole affair to the great council

council of the Six Nations, the Brethren at Friedenshuetten resolved to send a message to them. But, before they went, the *Sachem* of *Gajugu* came himself to Friedenshuetten. Meeting with the missionary, who had once shown him a particular kindness, he was the more easily satisfied, on seeing and hearing, that the Indians at Friedenshuetten had no thoughts of removing; but that a few only were gone with Zeisberger to the Ohio. This *Sachem* also undertook to give the great council at *Onondago* an account of the true state of the case; and promised, in the name of the Six Nations, that, on hearing, for the future, any disagreeable news of the baptized Indians, they would come themselves, and enquire of the Brethren about it.

In the mean time, the *Sennekers*, in order to prevent the Indians removing from the *Susquehannah*, had warned the Indians on the Ohio against the Brethren. This strengthened the enemies in their invectives and opposition; which induced the chief of the Indians at *Goschgosching*, *Allemerwi*, to send a message to the rest of the chiefs of his nation, to acquaint them, why he had embraced the word of God, and desired a teacher for himself and his people. They assured him of their satisfaction, and praised his undertaking.

But Zeisberger, and the baptized and awakened Indians at *Goschgosching*, being frequently molested by the drunken Indians, resolved, at length, to take up their abode some miles farther, at a place, called, *Lawunakhannek*, on the south side of the Ohio, eighteen miles above *Goschgosching*. This they effected in the spring of the year 1769. Most of the hearers staid behind, only visiting the missionary from time to time. But, after the removing of the Indian chief, who had embraced the faith, they were so tormented by the increasing wildness and profligacy of life among the savages, that they also, by degrees, set out and moved to their teacher.

At *Lawunakhannek*, during the remaining part of the year 1769, the three first-fruits were baptized, and, among the rest, the chief *Allemevi*, who was called, *Solomon*. According to the latest accounts, this small Indian congregation moved, in the year 1770, farther off, and settled on the *Beaver-Creek*, on a spot, which they called *Languntoutenuek*, or *Friedens-Stadt*, that is, *Town of Peace*.

§ 290.

THE mission in *Surinam* began in this period to recover from the disasters and injuries suffered in the foregoing, and to afford a good prospect for the time to come. The small Indian congregation at *Sharon* on the *Sarameca*, gathered out of the dispersion, increased by slow degrees, the more the dread of the *Free Negroes* was dissipated. More and more also of those, who had been baptized in *Berbice*, found their way to them, and built there, bringing some of their unbaptized friends with them, who had been gained by their conversation and occasional testimony. The missionaries, therefore, took fresh courage, erected a new meeting-hall, and again regulated the congregation in a proper manner. They began to administer the holy communion to such, as were proper subjects for it; and took those unbaptized, who were desirous to obtain salvation, into nearer instruction, and some of them were admitted to baptism. They made also a beginning with three Indians, to use them as helpers among their nation, especially among those Indians that lived at a distance and visited them.

On the *Corentyn*, after the rebellion of the Negroes in *Berbice* was suppressed, the Brethren, in the year 1764, took again possession of their deserted house. But it being exposed to inundations, they removed it to a height not far from the *Mepenna*, on which most of the Indians lived, that fled from *Berbice*, who were assiduously visited from hence. Although some of them were rather grown wild; yet the
blessed

blesſed remembrance of grace formerly enjoyed was ſtill found in many, and a deſire again to be made partakers of it; nor were they without bleſſing to the reſt of the Heathen. They came diligently to hear the word of God, and, by degrees, gathered themſelves to the Brethren, to build with them. They ſent to the reſt of the diſperſed about the *Wikky* and *Iſequeb*, giving them an invitation to dwell with them. Many ſtrangers alſo came to hear the goſpel, ſome of whom ſtaid, and attained to holy baptiſm. Nevertheleſs, the Brethren did not ceaſe ſeeking the Heathen in the *Savannah*, or wilderneſs; and the goſpel was ſpread farther and farther by the viſiting Indians, as well as through the baptized. Thus, an emotion aroſe in thoſe parts, like that formerly in Berbice. The diſperſed were hereby encouraged to gather again to the congregation; and the Brethren's hope was ſtrengthened of ſeeing the decayed miſſion in Berbice reviving here; on which account they called this new Indian place, *Hope*.

§ 291.

THE deſire of the government in Surinam, expreſſed in the year 1760, to ſend ſome Brethren among the *Free Negroes*, with whom peace had been made, and, agreeable to their requeſt, to inſtruct their youth in the Chriſtian religion, (§ 230.) was now fulfilled. *Thomas Jones* and *Rudolph Stolle* were, in company with *Lewis Chriſtopher Dehne*, come to Surinam for this purpoſe. Theſe three Brethren were, in the year 1765, preſented, by a deputy of the council, to the captains of twelve villages of the Negroes, and accepted of them with joy. Every one wanted to have one of them; but they choſe rather, at firſt, to live together, promiſing to viſit them all. After a difficult journey, they arrived, on the 24th of December 1765, in the country of the Free Negroes, and took up their abode with the captain *Abini*, on *Senthea-Creek*, in the centre of the twelve villages.

Thomas Jones was soon taken sick, and departed this life, and Abini, the most eminent of all the captains, was shot dead in a fray with other Free Negroes.

Besides an exceedingly difficult way of life, the Brethren were continually in imminent danger among these savage and idolatrous people. On the Brethren's explaining to them, the first time, the aim of their coming: 'To make them acquainted with that God, who made, and who redeemed them with his blood', they were seized with a fear, lest their gods should be provoked, if they had any thing to do with *Gran Gaddo*, the great God. This fear went so far, that they appointed offerings and prayers, to appease them again. They are greatly addicted to idolatry, every one having his own idol, and believing himself possessed by him. They are, at times, seized with violent agitations of their bodies, when their *Gaddo* (as they call it) comes upon them. Whatever they speak at that time, is looked upon as pronounced by the god dwelling in them. They make a god of all they see; and care must be taken, not to kill a serpent, or any other creature, lest some Negro, who makes it his god, should be provoked to wrath. There was, therefore, at the beginning, but very little prospect of their conversion. The Brethren were obliged to be satisfied with opening a school with some of their children, to teach them, according to the desire of the parents, to read and to write. They, however, thought they perceived some impression and blessing of their discourses in some boys, which encouraged them to prosecute their labour, in hopes, by means of the children, one time to effect something in the parents; joyful traces of which now make their appearance.

§ 292.

As the accounts of all the Heathen-missions during this period were exceedingly agreeable; so the intelligence received of the oldest Heathen-mission in the Danish Caribbee islands

islands had never been so replete with joyful news, as at this time. There was a great stir among all the people, especially among the unbaptized, who are always the greatest number. In particular the *Buffals*, that is, the raw and wild Negroes, brought immediately from Africa, discovered a remarkable desire of hearing the word of God, and of being saved. On every monthly congregation-day a great many mentioned their desire to be inserted in the list of the catechumens; and above an hundred every year, both in *St. Thomas* and *St. Croix*, and in *St. Jan* above half an hundred, attained to holy baptism. It appears by a declaration, made by the Brethren, in the year 1765, in answer to some questions asked of them by the magistrates, that the number of all the Negroes, baptized in these three islands since the commencement of the mission, amounted to three thousand five hundred and thirty-nine souls, and the next year were added one hundred and fifty in *St. Thomas*, one hundred and forty-three in *St. Croix*, and sixty-four in *St. Jan*, exclusive of the children of such parents, as were not yet baptized, who, on that account, did not receive baptism, but were blessed by prayer, and reckoned among the catechumens.

The number of the adult catechumens and candidates for baptism, amounted to upwards of two thousand. From the beginning of the mission, to the end of the year 1766, sixty-six Brethren and Sisters had died in the Lord, in the midst of their labour, on the three islands; and the baptized Negroes, departed in faith on Jesus, amounted to eight hundred, besides a great number of such, as had heard the gospel with blessing to their souls, and, before they could have the sacrament of holy baptism administered to them, were gone into eternity in reliance upon the merits of Jesus.

As to the outward state of the mission; the Brethren, in regard of their labour, amidst almost continual bodily weakness and frequent sicknesses, as also with respect to

their maintenance, had, even now, as great difficulties to struggle with, as in the former years. But their joy at the desire of the Negroes after the gospel, and the many examples of fruit worthy of it, made every thing easy to them, and strengthened their courage, still to exert all the powers of soul and body in this work of God. They had also the consolation of their labour in the Lord being acknowledged, and, in case of need, protected, by the government, both in Denmark and in the islands. In St. Croix, in the year 1765, by the carelessness of other people on the plantation of the Brethren, the meeting-house at the West end, lately erected upon the desire of the Negroes for many years, took fire. In St. Jan the church was thrown down by a storm, and the next year, 1766, rebuilt, to the great joy of the Negroes, who were obliged, for above a year, to attend the preaching in the open air, and to forego the holy communion. By occasion of the dividing an inheritance in St. Croix, in the year 1767, seventeen Negroes were carried to the Dutch island, St. Eustatia, to their own and the missionaries great grief. They were visited the next year, exhorted to constancy and faithfulness, and some regulations made among them, for their mutual edification. In the year 1766, Brother *Christian George Andrew Oldendorp* was sent to St. Thomas, to take a view of the mission and all its circumstances, and, both from historical relations and ocular evidence, to collect the materials for an *History* of this mission*.

§ 293.

THE pain, which was for some years felt on account of the slow progress (I might say, regress) of the mission in *Jamaica*, was, in this period, turned into joy, in a manner hardly to be expected in so great a degree, after the arrival

* This History has been published in German, in the year 1777.

of *Frederic Schlegel* from Bethlehem, in the year 1764, to take the direction of the mission into his hands. God gave grace that the missionaries were again united in one mind and method, and found anew entrance to the hearts of the Negroes. They met with great difficulties, with respect to their subsistence, till they were supported from Europe, and put in a better way of maintaining themselves: but, as to inward grace, things began to take a more pleasing turn. Those who had been formerly baptized, came again by degrees; and among the hearers, who were as yet but few, such a powerful emotion of grace took place, that, even this year (1764), eight of them were baptized. This encouraged the rest; and a new life sprang up among the baptized, when the first of them were, in the year 1765, admitted by the Brethren to the holy communion. Some of these were trained up for helpers and visitors among the Negroes, and the usefulness of their labour was perceived in the following year, 1766, when thirty-six were baptized, and fifteen admitted to the holy communion. Concerning the year 1767, I will here insert the missionary's own expressions at the close of that year.

1. " This has been a year abounding with grace and blessing. At the testimony of the death of Jesus, a particular spirit and fire have often been observed. Such a divine life we have not perceived at the preaching of the gospel in the preceding years.

2. " From the beginning of the month of May, a very gracious visitation of the Lord has been manifest among the people, which still continues.

3. " The spirit of the witnesses is come upon our people at the *Bogue*. Many deliver a testimony of our Saviour, wherever they find an opportunity. We even appoint, at times, one or another Negro-Brother to hold a meeting. Our visitors and helpers are diligent and zealous, and their service is a blessing to the poor people and themselves.

4. " In some places, the gospel has been preached the
 " first time ; and the number of hearers increases every
 " where. At the beginning of the year, scarcely an hun-
 " dred came at the Bogue ; now there are five hundred of
 " them ; since Negroes also from other plantations frequent-
 " ly attend the preaching there.

5. " The souls have been more deeply and more
 " solidly grounded. We have dealt strictly with some
 " who gave offence ; but they have all returned, as repent-
 " ing sinners.

6. " Peace, love and harmony have ruled amongst us.

7. " The tender fellow-feeling of our Brethren in Europe
 " with us, with respect to our inward and outward circum-
 " stances, has greatly revived us, and given us fresh
 " courage.

8. " In our housekeeping we have sensibly perceived the
 " blessing of our dear heavenly Father. We have lived
 " frugally, and not been indolent. But we are in great
 " want of Negroes to assist us. Yet the blessing and fruit
 " of the gospel among our people has alleviated every
 " burden.

9. " The holy communion has particularly evidenced its
 " power and operation in our Blacks, twenty-seven of
 " whom have been admitted the first time ; and now we
 " have fifty communicants in all.

10. " In the six places, where we have hitherto preached,
 " one hundred and thirty-one have been baptized this year,
 " and six baptized have departed this life.

" Let every one, that reads or hears this, pray for us,
 " that our Saviour may be farther with us, and give power
 " to the word of his cross, to melt the stony hearts of the
 " Heathens, and gain them as a reward for his sufferings.
 " But unto the Lamb that has redeemed us to God by his blood,
 " out of every kindred and tongue and people and nation, be
 " honour and glory and blessing, both here below and there
 " above, for ever and ever ! Amen."

I will

I will only still add, concerning the year 1768, that the awakening not only proceeded, but spread still farther. Hitherto, the Brethren had only preached on the plantations of *Joseph Foster Barham* and *William Foster*, Esquires: but now they were invited to more places, and had to take care of the Negroes on nine plantations. This year, one hundred and twenty-four attained to baptism, and thirty-six were admitted to the holy communion. The Brethren, *Frederic Schlegel* and *Hans Mueller*, made the first journey to the *Free Negroes*, who live by themselves in the mountains. They, indeed, were not kindly received at first. When the captain ordered his people to meet to the preaching, most of them looked dark and unfriendly. But the Lord gave grace to the testimony of the gospel, so, that their hearts were moved, and, at taking leave, all desired with one voice, that the Brethren would soon come again; which has accordingly been done more than once since*.

§ 294.

THE mission in *Antigua* suffered a great loss by the decease of the first missionary, *Samuel Isles*, in the year 1764. (§ 265.) He was, indeed, succeeded by another; but he quickly followed his predecessor into eternity. Afterwards other Brethren were sent thither: but no new awakening appeared among the Negroes; and all they were able to do, besides the work of their hands, was, to keep the baptized Negroes together, and to add some few to them. In the year 1767, they moved into their dwelling-house at *St.*

* This was the state and the pleasing prospect of the mission in *Jamaica* in the year 1768; but we are sorry to find that, instead of its continuing in that flourishing condition, it has stopped in its growth; and the missionaries mourn that they do not see more fruit of their labour. But God has still his work among the Negroes; and the missionaries labour, in hopes, that the seed sown, which seemed to die, will, as has been the case in other places, shoot up, and yet bring forth a large increase. (The Editor.)

John's,

John's, and opened the chapel with a sermon. An opportunity offered likewise to preach the gospel to the Negroes on an estate out of the town, and the owner assisted them. But it was painful to them, that most of the Negroes, baptized by the Brethren, were sent to other islands. But, notwithstanding all difficulties, they are not without hopes, that, after many vicissitudes, the kingdom of God will at length make its way, in this island also, as in all other, now flourishing, missions*.

§ 295.

IT had been long wished that a mission might be established in the English West India island, *Barbadoes*, where there is a great number of Negroes. In the year 1765, two Brethren went thither. But one of them departed this life presently after their arrival; and the Brother who went to supply his place, found, that the other, having got a love for the world, had deviated from the aim of his going thither; but he himself soon followed the first into eternity. Upon this, the mission was discontinued, until the year 1767, when *Benjamin Brukshaw*, from *Cheshire*, determined to go thither alone, and begin this mission. He arrived on the 17th of May, 1767. One of the Brethren at London has given the following account of the missionary's attempts to find ingress among the Negroes.

“ The 24th of October, the doctor of the ship, in which Brukshaw was gone to Barbadoes, came to me,

* The state of this mission is very different from what it was at the time when *Cranz* wrote his history. At that time, the missionaries were supported by the hope of better times: and the time is come that they can rejoice over the work of the Lord. This is now one of the most flourishing missions among the Negroes, and the name of God our Saviour is praised by great numbers, who were formerly slaves of sin and Satan. We will pray that this may be the case soon with Jamaica and Barbadoes. (The Editor.)

“ and

“ and related, that Brukshaw had several times been with
 “ the president of the council, who, at that time, supplied
 “ the place of the governor, who received him very kindly,
 “ and conversed in a friendly manner with him concerning
 “ his design of preaching the gospel to the Negroes. He had
 “ been in most parts of the island, to see, where and how he
 “ could find entrance among the Negroes. He had visited
 “ most of the clergy in the island, who behaved very friend-
 “ ly towards him, wishing him success in his undertaking.
 “ In general, every one was apprised of the true cause of
 “ his coming, and showed respect for it. The Negroes
 “ discovered great love and regard for him, and visited him
 “ assiduously, &c.”

According to his own accounts, he made the first trial at *Bridgetown*, and in the district about it, of visiting the Negroes, and declaring the gospel to them in occasional conversations. A gentleman soon gave him an opportunity of preaching on his plantation. He then hired an house for himself in the country, where, as well as on the estate, he preached publicly. Many owners of estates were willing to direct their Negroes unto him; and several came to hear him themselves: they even desired him to preach to them separately. But he directed them to their churches; and himself set them a good example, not easily neglecting the public service of the church of England.

In the month of August, he received an assistant from Bethlehem, *John Bennet*, who had before been in *Antigua*. They now began to preach in more places, and to visit the Negroes, as far as they could reach. These came in such numbers, that their house was soon too small. They, therefore, bought, in the same year, an house, which had been burnt down, with a garden, repaired and fitted it up for their dwelling and meeting-place for the Negroes, who were greatly rejoiced at these preparations, and thanked God that he had now given them also teachers. They not only flocked to this place, but visited the Brethren in

the week so diligently, that they were sometimes employed with them the whole day. A Negro-woman especially, whose heart the Lord had opened at the very first, was exceedingly zealous in speaking to the Negroes, and exhorting them to attend the meetings. She was the first that received holy baptism, on the 18th of September 1768, to which soon after five others, and since then more, were admitted. The same year they obtained two other assistants from Europe. As some of them had much employment in their trades, and were obliged to travel through the whole island, they found this method of getting their livelihood greatly conducive to their main design, by affording them opportunities, in every place their business called them to, of speaking to the Negroes. And the owners, who had already perceived the fruit of it in some Negroes, invited the Brethren to preach the gospel also on their estates*.

§ 296.

THE two congregations in *Greenland* increased, during this period, in inward grace, and in good order, and proved an honour to the Lord, a comfort to their teachers, and an uncommon joy and edification to all that obtained an account of them, either through the *History of Greenland*, or from the annual reports. But, in the first years, they rather decreased than increased in number, many baptized departing this life, and but very few joining them anew from among the Heathen. In the year 1765, the eldest missionary, *Matthew Stach*, accompanied by three Greenlandish families, made a journey of between one hundred and twenty and one hundred and forty leagues, into the southern part of the country, as yet but little known, whence most of the inhabitants of *New Herrnhut* and *Lichtenfels* came; in order to

* Since the writing this History, a mission has been begun on the island of *St. Christopher's*, and some first-fruits have been baptized. (The Editor.)

visit the Heathen, who had often heard the gospel, passing and repassing through the congregations, and had invited the Brethren to come and declare to them and others the word of God anew, inviting them to the kingdom of God. He spent the winter there, and spared no pains, together with his Greenland-helpers, to kindle a light in this dark district. But yet, he saw, at that time, but little fruit of it, and those who were convinced and went with him, in order to become believers, for the most part left him on the road. Thus, the Brethren were obliged to comfort themselves, from the experience of former times, with the hope, that the benefit of this difficult journey would appear some time hence.

Soon after, the Heathen in the district of New Herrnhut and Lichtenfels began to afford better hopes. In the year 1767, a new desire and attention was perceived in all the adjacent parts, to hear the word of God, and to embrace it with true faith, working a change of mind and life. A certain extraordinary occurrence was greatly conducive to this end. An *Angekok*, or forcerer, at *Pissugbik*, who had oftentimes heard the gospel, but as yet without any visible fruit, was, in the year 1768, terrified to such a degree, by a dream, or, as he said, by a vision, that, from that hour, he altered his life, preached repentance and conversion to his former adherents, and dispatched messengers to New Herrnhut, with a petition to send them some one to instruct them farther in the way of salvation. This petition was granted with joy. From that time, a new awakening arose in all those parts, which extended as far as Lichtenfels, and still farther. The Heathen came frequently on visits, and, at their request, were again visited by the Brethren and the Greenlandish helpers. They ordered matters, during the summer, so, as to live with the Brethren; and, in autumn, many from *Pissugbik* and other places, moved to New Herrnhut and Lichtenfels, and some of them, during the winter, and in the following year, 1769, attained to holy baptism.

At the close of the year 1768, the congregation at New Herrnhut consisted of five hundred and twenty-seven, and that at Lichtenfels, of two hundred and fifty-seven Greenlanders. The inward and outward state of these congregations, the names, the increase, and employment of the missionaries and their assistants, of whom *Ballenhorst's* wife, the second European, departed this life in the year 1766, together with other alterations, may be read at large in the *Continuation of the History of Greenland, from the Year 1763 to 1768.* (§ 274.)

§ 297.

At the time of my abode in Greenland, in the years 1761 and 1762, for the purpose of compiling the History of this mission, we often spoke of the *Esquimaux*, whom we supposed to be one nation with the Greenlanders, and wished to bring the gospel even to them from Greenland. *Jens Haven*, an assistant of the mission, who accompanied me on my return, had, ever since the unsuccessful attempt of a mission in *Terra Labrador*, in the year 1752, (§ 176.) often signified his desire, to be made use of in a second attempt there. This desire was revived in him, when, in the year 1764, his place in Greenland was supplied by others. He was of opinion, that God had only led him to Greenland, to give him an opportunity of learning the language, as the means of preaching the gospel to the *Esquimaux*. Having signified his impulse and desire to the direction of the Unity of the Brethren, and obtained their approbation of, and blessing for, his undertaking, he immediately, in the spring of 1764, set out for England, and, by the assistance of the Brethren there, obtained permission, and the patronage of the then governor of *Newfoundland and Labrador*, *Hugh Palliser*, Esq. to attempt a visit there. After manifold difficulties, and much fruitless sailing to and fro, and landing on the coast of Labrador, he was, at length, on the 4th of September, so successful,

as to discover a number of Esquimaux on the island *Quir-pont*, on the north east point of Newfoundland. He spoke with them in their own language, which never had been done before by any European, and therefore caused their greatest admiration and joy. Having declared to them the intention of his voyage, and the view of the Brethren, to make them acquainted with their Creator, by the preaching of the gospel, he, for some days, received all imaginable friendship from them; and promised to come to them again the following year with more Brethren.

This discovery, and the declaration of friendship from savages, with whom no European's life had before been safe, was exceedingly agreeable to governor *Palliser*, and, upon his report, to the board of trade and plantations. They wished, for the promotion of peace, and for the security of the trade and fishery, soon to see a mission of the Brethren established there. *Jens Haven*, therefore, went again thither the next year (1765), with the former Danish missionary, *Christian Laurence Drachart*, and two other Brethren; made a still farther journey for reconnoitring the country; and had the pleasure, on his return to the English ships, to meet with some hundred Esquimaux, to whom the missionary *Drachart* had preached the gospel for some weeks, not without impression and blessing, and had accomplished with them all that government could expect for the present*.

But greatly as the establishment of a mission among the Esquimaux was wished for, not only by the Brethren, but also by persons of rank in England; yet the Brethren were obliged, on account of various difficulties, to defer it for some time longer. In the mean while, some Esquimaux were taken prisoners in a skirmish, and three of them brought to England. Among them was a boy, called *Karpik*, who

* A farther account of this, together with a description of the country and the inhabitants, is found in the *Fourth Chapter* of the *Continuation of the History of Greenland*, § 12 to 22.

was given to the Brethren to be educated. Having received holy baptism, he departed this life happily, in the year 1769, at *Fulneck* in Yorkshire*.

In the year 1768, the negotiation, relative to a mission of the Brethren to *Labrador*, was renewed. On the report of the board of trade to the privy council, a resolution was taken on the 3d of May 1769, concerning the establishment of a mission in *Terra Labrador*; and, on the 8th of May, an order of council was issued: "That the land
" desired in *Esquimaux-Bay* should be granted to the *Unitas*
" *Fratrum* and their *Society for the Furtherance of the Gospel*
" among the *Heathen*, and they be protected in their laudable undertakings, &c."

It was too late this year to put the matter in execution. But I will here previously mention, that it was taken into mature deliberation, and determined at the synod held in 1769, that, in the year 1770, another voyage should be undertaken to *Terra Labrador*, in order to seek out a place for building on a suitable spot for the mission; but principally to renew and confirm the friendly acquaintance begun with the *Esquimaux*; both which endeavours were attended with such success, as could hardly have been expected.

§ 298.

IN consequence of the edict issued by the empress of *Russia*, in favour of the Brethren, (§ 253.) it was resolved at the synod held at *Marienborn*, in the year 1764, to settle a colony in the Russian empire, and that in the kingdom of *Astracan*, in hopes, that the Lord would open a door for our Brethren in these eastern countries, as he had done in the western, among the many infidels on the confines of *Russia*, in *Mungalia*, *Persia*, and so on; and make them a blessing to some at least.

* His life may be read at the conclusion of the *Continuation of the History of Greenland*.

Five single Brethren were nominated, under the conduct of *John Erich Westmann*, to chuse, and take possession of, a tract of land on the *Wolga*. *Peter Conrad Fries*, a French Protestant clergyman, went before them, as agent at the Imperial court, in order to prepare matters with the Imperial tutelary chancery, which has the charge of the affairs of the colonics. On the 18th of January, 1765, he obtained the special grant for this colony. Her Imperial majesty was also pleased, for the more convenient reception of, and provision for, the Brethren coming into the country, in the year 1765, to give them a spacious house at *Petersburg*, with liberty of performing in it divine service according to the ritual of the Brethren's congregations. The five Brethren went, in the year 1765, to *Petersburg*, and from thence set out, on the 26th of June, in company with the Imperial aulic counsellor, mentioned in § 253; travelled by land, by way of *Moscow*, as far as *Nisi Nowogrod*, and from thence continued their journey on the *Wolga*. On the 13th of August, they reached *Czarizin*, by way of *Casan* and *Saratoff*, two thousand five hundred and twenty-eight *Wersts* (Russian miles), or about two thousand English miles, distant from *Petersburg*. Twenty-four miles below *Czarizin*, they pitched upon a piece of land, on the brook *Sarpa*, issuing into the *Wolga*. Here they settled, and directly made preparation, with the assistance of Russian carpenters, for erecting the necessary buildings, for cultivating some garden-ground and land for corn, and for carrying on their trades. It was, however, somewhat remarkable, that five defenceless people, with only a few *Cossaks*, given them from time to time for their protection, lived a whole year alone, without suffering the least harm, in the neighbourhood of the *Calmucs*, who lay by thousands round their land, and in a desert, where travellers are often fallen upon by robbers.

In the year 1766, these five Brethren were rejoiced at the arrival of more Brethren and some Sisters, under the conduct of the bishop, *John Nitschmann*. (§ 58.) They went from Holland by sea to Petersburg, and on the 22d of July set out by land, guarded by an Imperial officer and some soldiers, as far as *Torzok*; and from thence proceeded by water down the *Wolga*, and, by divine aid and protection, amidst many dangers from robbers, and among the rocks of the river, reached *Sarepta* (for so was this new place called) on the 19th of September. Another company followed them in February 1768. These travelled by land on sledges in the severest cold, and could not sufficiently extol the civility, friendship and hospitality of the *Donn Cossaks*, whose country they passed through. In the year 1769, they were again increased by a small company from Holland.

In the mean time, the place was regularly built, and every thing ordered according to the usages of other congregations of the Brethren. The land belonging to it was secured by a deed of gift from her Imperial majesty, executed and signed on the 7th of April by her own hand, and delivered to the agent of the Brethren. Many Russian gentlemen and generals, especially the governor general of the kingdom of *Astracan*, being the chief magistrate in that country, repeatedly took a view of the beginning and progress of this settlement and its useful regulations, with particular pleasure and satisfaction. The sovereign herself, who enquired very particularly into every thing concerning this place, more than once showed her gracious disposition towards it, and was solicitous for its safety, when, in the year 1769, upon the breaking out of the war with the Turks, the country on the *Wolga* was disturbed by the *Kuban* and *Kabardinian Tartars*.

§ 299.

Sarepta is situate on the high road, leading from Peterburg and Moscow, by way of Astracan, to Persia and the East Indies. This situation occasioned them many visits, which indeed, on the one hand, especially at the first settling of the place, could not but be attended with great inconveniences, but, on the other, were of use to them for obtaining an acquaintance with many different nations. They entertained even Indians from *Indostan*; and, in the year 1768, received a letter from the Brethren at *Tranquebar* in the East Indies, by way of *Bassora* and *Persia*. Among the many passengers, a *Crusinian*, or *Georgian*, prince, with his son, the archimandrite of *Teflis*, paid them a visit, and invited the Brethren into their country. A *Crusinian* merchant, of whom the Brethren enquired about the state of those divers nations, that inhabit the mountains of *Caucasus*, between the Russian, Persian, and Turkish empires, named, among others, the *Tschechs*, whose ancestors, according to their relation, were, some hundred years ago, driven thither from Europe, having their own language and way of life, professing the Christian religion, but being no longer able to read the books of their forefathers, which were deposited in large and strong-built churches, now standing empty; and expecting a time, when the use of them, and their divine worship, should be renewed. As the *Bohemians* call themselves *Tschechs*, so a supposition arose in the Brethren, that they might, perhaps, be the descendents of those *Bohemians*, who, according to the *Ancient History of the Brethren*, § 16, about the year 1480, were banished *Moravia*, and are said to have gone to *Moldavia*, and from thence to the mountains of *Caucasus*. The Brethren, there-

fore, took pains to obtain some farther knowledge of this people. A native of Bohemia, *Kutschera*, resolved, in company with another Brother, to seek them out, and to enquire into their descent, doctrine, constitution, language, and books. In the year 1768 they entered on their journey to *Astracan*, and obtained from the governor general a pass, and letters of recommendation to the Russian commanders, with orders to give them some *Cossaks* as a guard, and a Tartarian interpreter and guide. But when they came to the frontier fortress, *Moslok*, and were no more than four days journey from the country where the *Tschicks* are said to dwell, they were advised by the fatherly disposed commandant of the fortress, to proceed no farther, since the *Kabardians* were approaching with forty thousand men, into whose hands they in all probability would fall, and be carried into slavery. Painful as this was to them, yet they saw no other way, but to return to *Astracan*; where they resolved to wait for a more convenient season, occupying themselves in learning the Tartarian language.

§ 300.

THE Brethren soon commenced an acquaintance with the *Calmucs*, who inhabit the vast extent of land both on the right and left banks of the *Wolga*, and from thence as far as the *Chinese Tartary*, with their *Hordes* (clans), subject to divers *Chans*, or princes. They range, as is well known, with their numerous herds of camels, horses, black cattle, and sheep, from one district abounding with grass to another, in the *Steppe*, or, uninhabited plain. An horde of them, soon after the arrival of the Brethren, came over the river *Wolga*, and encamped upon their land. This occasioned a variety of troubles at first, and apprehensions of still

more. But their friendship was soon gained by the civil and kind treatment of the Brethren. Their princes ordered justice to be done to the Brethren, when they had any complaints to make about the damages they had received; and the chan caused public notice to be given, in what manner the Calmucs were to deport themselves with respect to the land of the Brethren. The building of *Sarepta* proved a pleasure to them. They came thither in large numbers, viewed every thing, attended even the meetings of the Brethren, with admiration and respect, and were well pleased when the Brethren visited them. It was in particular very agreeable to them, when a skilful physician came to *Sarepta*. Many Calmucs became his patients; among whom was a prince of the *Derboet Horde*, who, with his train, in the year 1767, pitched his winter-encampment upon the land of the Brethren. This afforded them an occasion of entering into a closer acquaintance with this nation, and of obtaining some knowledge of their manners, usages, religion, and language. The prince, by the loving treatment of the Brethren, and the careful attendance of the physician, gained a great confidence in them; discovered especially an uncommon affection for two Brethren who often visited him, in order to learn the language; and, on his removal, in the spring of 1768, offered, if they chose to go with him into the great steppe, to take them under his protection, to show them all kindness, afford them his assistance, and procure them an opportunity of learning their language. The two Brethren accepted this offer with gladness, submitted to the way of living usual among the Calmucs, and, during the years 1768 and 1769, moved with them from place to place, with their *Kibitkes*, or tents, and cattle. Every one showed them all friendship, and the *Lamas*, or priests, of whom they have a great number, suffered them to

be spectators at their religious exercises, which consist in many prayers, counted by a kind of rosary, or beads, and in various offerings. These two and other Brethren, have now advanced so far in the Calmuć tongue, as to be able to express themselves, and heartily wish, that the light of the gospel may arise upon this people also, immured in manifold idolatrous customs, and by a number of crafty priests.

§ 301.

FROM this Asiatic colony of the Brethren, we now turn to the other, or rather the first, on the coast of *Coromandel* in the *East Indies*. This colony, both inwardly and outwardly, proceeded with blessing. The Brethren had more work in their trades, than they were able to execute; and the physician in particular was an help and a blessing to many patients both far and near. They improved their garden and land, especially by planting a vineyard, which was the more wondered at, as such an improvement on this coast had before been considered as impracticable. But their small congregation received no addition from Europe; nor did they, for a long time, see any opening for obtaining the main design of their coming hither, the preaching of the gospel to the Heathen.

As to the *Nicobar Islands*, the Brethren waited some years for an opportunity of going thither, and made, from time to time, enquiry about it of the government, both by word of mouth and in writing. But government could not, till the year 1768, make another attempt for a settlement on these islands. Six Brethren were immediately ready to go thither. They settled on the island *Nan Cauwery*, and soon commenced a friendly acquaintance with the Heathen there, an ignorant, but seemingly good-natured nation. Two of them soon departed this life; but the other four Brethren are still there, in hopes to gather for our Saviour some reward for the travail of his soul from among these Heathens.

§ 302.

AFRICA was also thought of again. The Brethren had, heretofore, made attempts in four places of this quarter of the globe, to make the gospel known; in the year 1737, in *Guinea*, and among the *Hottentots* on the *Cape of good Hope*; (§ 79.) in the years 1740 and 1745, among the Christian slaves in *Algiers*; (§ 87.) and in the year 1752, at *Grand Cairo*. (§ 193.) The physician, *Frederic William Hokker*, who, after the unsuccessful attempt of the journey to *Abyssinia* in the year 1761, had returned to Germany, (§ 233.) could not be satisfied that this post was left vacant, and went again to *Cairo*, in order, by patient attendance upon his medical profession, to see, when and how a door should be opened for obtaining fruit in *Egypt*, or in *Abyssinia*. A joiner, *Henry Danke*, resolved to go with him. They received the consent and blessing of the congregation, and, in the year 1768, set off from Holland, by way of *Leghorn*, to *Alexandria*. On the 5th of March 1769 they reached *Cairo*, and, towards the end of the year, *John Antes*, a native of America, a skilful watchmaker and mechanic, followed them. Their arrival happened just at the time of the most violent disturbances, when great revolutions came to pass in Upper Egypt, and warlike preparations were making in Lower Egypt. *Hokker* was received with much love and friendship by his old acquaintance. Especially the Coptic and Greek clergy were glad to see him again. He had some farther important conversations with the patriarch of the Copts; *Mark CVI*, and attended him in his sickness, in which he left this world on the 18th of May 1769.

§ 303.

THE Brethren had been waiting these thirty years for a proper occasion of renewing the mission to *Guinea*, the native country

country of the Negroes, begun in the year 1737, among which people, their ministry, since that time, had been so greatly blessed in the West India islands; when, in the year 1767, without their seeking or expecting it, an application was made to the Brethren by the Guinea company at Copenhagen, that some Brethren might settle in their factories. *Jacob Meder* was sent to *Copenhagen*, to hear the proposals of the company, and to lay before them the Brethren's views and requisitions in undertakings of such a nature. This was attended with good success. On the 2d of September, articles of agreement between the directors of the company and the deputies of the evangelical Brethren's church were signed, according to which, a tract of land should be assigned to the Brethren on *Rio Volta*, or wherever they should find it most convenient, for a settlement of a mission, together with all necessary privileges, chiefly with regard to converting and gathering the Negroes. After this agreement had received the Royal confirmation, four more Brethren, under the conduct of *Jacob Meder*, their minister, entered upon their voyage, and arrived, on the 5th of July 1768, at *Christiansburg*, on the coast of *Guinea*. But before they could actually begin a settlement, Meder and two of his assistants departed this life. The two remaining likewise laboured under dangerous disorders. As soon as this painful news was received in Europe, in the spring of 1769, several Brethren offered themselves voluntarily, to supply their places. Of these, four were selected at the synod of this year, who, under the conduct of *John Erich Westmann*, set out the same year, and arrived on the coast of *Guinea* in 1770. But all these four, and the two who were left of the first company, ended their lives this very year.

§ 304.

THIS synod of the Unity of the Brethren was again held at *Marienborn*, and opened on the 1st of July, 1769.

One hundred and twenty-nine persons out of all the congregations, not only in Europe, but in America also, were present at it. The inward and outward state of the whole Unity of the Brethren, and of all the congregations, missions, colonies, and oeconomies, in the whole and in the parts, was uprightly considered before the Lord, minutely weighed, judged of without respect of persons, and regulated according to the best of their knowledge, which the Spirit of God imparted to them from his word, and from past experience in the ways of God.

In a brief, but authentic account, given of it, it is said, among other things, as follows.

“ We had, at the beginning of the synod, the comfortable word of the day : *Before I formed thee in the belly,*
 “ *I knew thee ; and before thou camest forth out of the womb,*
 “ *I sanctified thee, and I ordained thee a prophet unto the na-*
 “ *tions.* Jer. i. 5.

“ We give ourselves to God, with faith unfeign’d,
 “ That his kind views with us may be obtain’d,
 “ To the Father’s blessing, the Bridegroom’s favour,
 “ The Holy Spirit’s guidance, now and ever,
 “ The angels’ guard.

“ We applied this text simply to the Unity of the Brethren. For it is however true, that he has *sanctified*
 “ *us*, or set us apart, to be a peculiar people of his, and
 “ has called us to make known his death unto the nations
 “ of the earth.

“ The

“ The whole work of the Lord in our days of grace,
 “ among Christians and Heathens, in all the four quar-
 “ ters of the globe, where the Brethren serve him, was the
 “ object of consideration before our dear Lord.

“ We, first of all, called to mind the sacred and blessed
 “ foundation, upon which we have been called and united
 “ together by the Holy Ghost, *That without controversy*
 “ *great mystery of godliness: God was manifest in the flesh,*
 “ *took all our sins upon himself, and, by an eternal redemption*
 “ *in his blood, purchased and gained us to be his own, to the end,*
 “ *that we should live under him in his kingdom, and serve*
 “ *him in eternal righteousness, innocence, and happiness.*

“ We bound ourselves anew to adhere to this foundation,
 “ as laid down in the holy scriptures of the Old and New
 “ Testament, and blessedly experienced and enjoyed by so
 “ many thousand poor sinners, for their salvation and pre-
 “ servation; and not to be separated from it by any height
 “ or depth, by things present, or things to come.

“ For this end, not only the private reading of the holy
 “ scriptures was faithfully recommended to all our congrega-
 “ tions; but it was unanimously agreed, to renew, and
 “ put in practice, more than hitherto, the public Bible-
 “ lessons before the whole assembled congregation, which
 “ had been formerly found of such blessing in our congrega-
 “ tions.

“ It was likewise recommended to all our Brethren, to
 “ whom it is committed to labour in the word and doc-
 “ trine in the congregations, so to care for the instruction
 “ of our youth in the fundamental truths of our most holy
 “ faith, that they may obtain a sufficient and solid *knowledge*
 “ *in the mystery of Christ; that each, from a child, may know*
 “ *the holy scriptures, and by them be made wise unto salvation,*
 “ *through*

“ through faith which is in Christ Jesus. For the assistance
 “ in this necessary instruction, *A Summary of the Doctrine of*
 “ *Jesus Christ*, containing, in one series of clear scripture-
 “ texts, the whole connexion of the saving truths, shall be
 “ made use of*.

“ Among many others, the following practical remarks
 “ were made.

1. “ The more, in our time, *Pelagianism*, or, the erro-
 “ neous opinion of the natural powers of man to amend
 “ himself, appears to gain the ascendancy; the more reason
 “ have we, strenuously to urge the doctrine of the corrup-
 “ tion of human nature clearly and roundly.

2. “ Since *all things that pertain unto life and godliness*, are
 “ a fruit of the merits of Jesus, and an inseparable part of
 “ the preaching of the gospel; we will, therefore, while
 “ publishing *the Counsel of God* concerning our salvation,
 “ never fail to insist upon the fruit of faith, and to incul-
 “ cate the moral precepts of Jesus and his Apostles.

“ Next to the doctrine, the inward and outward situa-
 “ tion of the Unity of the Brethren, in the whole, and of
 “ each congregation in particular, was a principal considera-
 “ tion of the whole synod.

“ The grace and mercy, continually shown to the Unity
 “ of the Brethren by our kind Lord and Saviour, under the
 “ protection of his heavenly Father, and the tuition of the
 “ Holy Ghost, humbled us in the dust; but, as we found
 “ ourselves still so far distant from the accomplishment of
 “ *all his thoughts of peace towards us*, so likewise our slow
 “ progress, in the whole and in the parts, put us greatly
 “ to shame. This it was, which brought us to a serious
 “ reflection, before his face, upon the reasons and obstacles,
 “ lying in the way of the full attainment of his gracious

* This *Summary &c.* to be used for the Instruction of Youth in
 the Congregations of the United Brethren, has been published since,
 both in German and English. (The Editor.)

“ purpose

“ purpose with us. A mighty and humbling grace, on
 “ this occasion, pervaded the assembly; insomuch, that
 “ the whole synod, with many tears, vowed anew to our
 “ dear Lord, to root out, and heartily to avoid, every devia-
 “ tion from following him in sincerity, and every opposi-
 “ tion to that lowly and poor form, which is most certainly
 “ an essential characteristic of a congregation of Christ, be-
 “ ing confidently assured, that the form of a poor, lowly,
 “ despised flock of true followers of Jesus, as our only glo-
 “ ry, will far better render us fit to fulfil our high calling,
 “ to spread abroad the gospel, than if we were ever so highly
 “ esteemed by the world, while we, at the same time, were
 “ in danger of losing that invincible strength, which lies in
 “ the blessed poverty and form of the cross of Christ.

“ In consequence of this conviction wrought in us by our
 “ Lord himself, all the circumstances appertaining to the
 “ inward and outward constitution of the church of the
 “ Brethren, and its institutions, were reviewed and regu-
 “ lated anew.

“ The watch, or superintendency, over that whole work
 “ of God, which he has intrusted to the Unity of the Bre-
 “ thren, was committed to an *Elders-Conference of the Unity*;
 “ under the inspection and good advice of which, the well-
 “ being of the congregations will be consulted by the *Eld-
 “ ers conferences* of each place; the necessities of our mis-
 “ sions will be taken care of by the *Missions-Diacony*; and
 “ the education and care of the children in the œconomies
 “ of the Unity, that is, the children of Heathen-messengers
 “ and congregation labourers, who cannot have their child-
 “ ren with them, and bring them up themselves, and other
 “ orphans, will be attended to by the *Diacony of the Oeco-
 “ nomies*.

“ We, next to this, thought, with much love, on the
 “ Brethren in the Protestant religions, built and united
 “ with us upon the same foundation, *the Atonement made*
 “ by

“ *by the blood of Jesus ; and wished that they might make a*
“ *right use of the grace of God that bringeth salvation, which*
“ *has appeared unto them ; that thus, they may shine as lights*
“ *in their places, and, as faithful people to their religions,*
“ *not remain without fruit.*

“ *Having weighed all these matters, amidst manifold*
“ *proofs of the grace of our Lord, until the 17th of Sep-*
“ *tember, the conclusion was made with reading the Result*
“ *of the Synod, and last of all, with the most blessed parti-*
“ *cipation of the body and blood of Jesus in the holy com-*
“ *munion.*

“ *Glory be unto him in the congregation ; and Grace be with*
“ *all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.*
“ *Amen.*”

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T H E E N D.

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A concise historical Account of the present Constitution of the Unitas Fratrum, or, Unity of the Evangelical Brethren, &c.

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To give a true idea of the Brethren's labour among the Heathen, there was published in the year 1771,

A succinct View of the Missions established among the Heathen by the Church of the Brethren.

And in the year 1774,

A brief Account of the Mission established among the Esquimaux Indians, on the Coast of Labrador, by the Church of the Brethren.

Besides

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Besides these Tracts, there was printed, as early as the year 1767,

The History of Greenland; containing a Description of the Country and its Inhabitants; and particularly, a Relation of the Mission, carried on for above these thirty Years by the Unitas Fratrum, at New Herrnhut and Lichtenfels in that Country. By David Crantz. Translated from the High Dutch. In Two Octavo Volumes.



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- Page 50. line 2. *read*, yet they left
 63. — 8. *read*, of Wittenberg,
 68. — 11. from the bottom, *read*, *Comenius*, or
Komensky, from *Komna*, the place of his
 nativity,
 75. — 2. from the bottom, *read*, when a child,
 88. — 7. from the bottom, *read*, and were to
 have been
 ib. — 4. from the bottom, *for* departure, *read*,
 decease
 123. — 15. from the bottom, *put out*, too
 165. — 4. *read*, oldest
 174. — 12. from the bottom, *read*, catechists,
 240. — 14. *read*, there were then
 272. — 10. *put out*, with
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